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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gremitskikh 5 Jul Briefing on World Issues 1
Korean Rapprochement Praised *[TASS]* 1
Troop Withdrawal From Hungary *[TASS]* 1
Belitskiy States NATO Needs 'New Look' *[Moscow International]* 1
NATO Secretary General To Visit 14 Jul *[TASS]* 2
Thatcher Urging of Friendship Offer Noted *[TASS]* 2
Effects of German Unification Viewed *[Moscow Radio]* 2
Modrow Assesses German Unity Process *[PRAVDA 30 Jun]* 4
GDR's Meckel Supports Nuclear-Free Europe *[MOSCOW NEWS No 26]* 7
Petrovskiy Cited on UN Western Sahara Resolution *[IZVESTIYA 1 Jul]* 7
Reshetov Gives Briefing on CSCE Rights Meeting *[TASS]* 8

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Yazov Receives Former U.S. Senator 5 Jul *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jul]* 9
Historian Views Economic Ties With U.S. *[MOSCOW NEWS No 26]* 9

China

CPC Sends Greetings to CPSU Congress *[PRAVDA 4 Jul]* 10
Commentary Views PRC-Mongolia Relations *[Moscow International]* 11

Northeast Asia

USSR-DPRK Treaty Anniversary Remembered *[PRAVDA 6 Jul]* 11
Commentator Views Anniversary *[Moscow International]* 11
Society Sends Greetings *[Moscow International]* 12
Mongolian Party Committee Greets CPSU Congress *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 12
Yeltsin Says Russia-Japan Treaty Possible *[Moscow International]* 12

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnam Communist Party Sends Greetings to CPSU *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 12
Cambodia's Heng Samrin Greets Gorbachev *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 13

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry Official on Jewish Emigration *[Helsinki Radio]* 14
Afghan Leader's Policy on Intervention Noted *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jun]* 14
Saudi Banker Views Development of Relations *[PRAVDA 24 Jun]* 15

East Europe

CPSU Congress Conservative Mood Alarms GDR *[IZVESTIYA 6 Jul]* 15
Troops in GDR Receive Savings in Deutschmarks *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Jul]* 16
Gysi Greets CPSU Congress on Behalf of PDS *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 16
Gorbachev Congratulates Havel on Election Victory *[TASS]* 17

Czechoslovakia Army Delegation Visits USSR *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Jun]* 17
Czechoslovak CP Greets CPSU Congress *[PRAVDA 4 Jul]* 17
Albanian Agrees To Give Refugees Exit Passports *[Moscow International]* 18
Supreme Soviet Group Ends Visit to Yugoslavia *[IZVESTIYA 1 Jul]* 18
Polish Party Sends Greetings to CPSU Congress *[PRAVDA 4 Jul]* 18
Bulgarian Socialist Party Greets CPSU Congress *[PRAVDA 4 Jul]* 19

West Europe

Shevardnadze, Dutch Counterpart Discuss NATO *[Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD 28 Jun]* 19
France's Mitterrand Cited on NATO Issues *[TASS]* 20
Soviet Hijacker Denied Asylum in Finland *[TASS]* 20

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze, Colombia's Londono Exchange Messages *[IZVESTIYA 4 Jul]* 20

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Gorbachev Sees Party, State Jobs as Compatible *[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY 5 Jul]* 21
USSR Press Secretary Interviewed on Gorbachev *[London TV]* 21
Kalugin Issues Statement on KGB Activity *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 26]* 21
Claims Possible 'Fifth Man' *[London TV]* 24
Reportage on Kuzbass Miners Planned Strike 25
Set To Strike 11 July *[TASS]* 25
No 'Unanimity' Among Miners *[Moscow Radio]* 25
Railmen Appeal Against Strike *[Moscow Radio]* 26
Soviet Historian Medvedev on Future of USSR *[Budapest NEPSZAVA 30 Jun]* 26
Ethnic Unrest, Popularity of Perestroyka Viewed *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 26]* 27
3 Arrested for Passing Anti-Gorbachev Leaflets *[Moscow International]* 30
Peace Committee Urges Support for Gorbachev *[IZVESTIYA 4 Jul]* 30
'Peace to Oceans' Committee Formed *[Moscow Maritime Service]* 30

Agricultural

Measures Adopted To Ensure Efficient Harvest *[PRAVDA 2 Jul]* 31
Major Losses Expected *[IZVESTIYA 2 Jul]* 31
Shortage of Fuel Highlighted *[Moscow Radio]* 32
Equipment Problems Hamper Harvesting *[Moscow TV]* 33
Construction Program Aids Non-Chernozem Farm *[Msocow TV]* 33
Uzbek Farm Seeks Middlemen To Transport Produce *[Moscow TV]* 34
Lease System Improves Rostov Farm Efficiency *[Moscow TV]* 34
Cooperative Movement Set Up on Kirovograd Kolkhoz *[Moscow TV]* 35
Agricultural Developments for 28 Jun-4 Jul *[Moscow Radio]* 35

Military

'Radical Renewal' of Armed Forces Urged *[Moscow TV]* 36
Reader Answered on Role of Other Parties in Army *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Jul]* 37

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Yeltsin To Visit Vilnius 'Next Week' *[Vilnius International]* 38
Lithuania Views Preparations for USSR Talks *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 38
Lithuanian 5 Jul Supreme Council Session Viewed *[Vilnius Radio]* 38
Issue of Visas to Lithuania Remains Unsolved *[Vilnius International]* 38
Monuments to Communists Defaced in Kaunas *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Jun]* 38

Law on Vilnius University Autonomy Passed *[TASS]* 39
Lithuania Publishes Economic Magazine *[Vilnius Radio]* 39
1,000 People Attend Tallinn Anti-Fascist Meeting *[TASS]* 39
Cancellation of Estonian Veterans Rally Reported *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 6 Jul]* 39
Estonia Protests Against Soviet Troop Movements *[AFP]* 40
Sillari Views Preparations for CPSU Congress *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 5 Jun]* 40
Estonian Supreme Soviet Views 'Triarchy' *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 29 May]* 42
Latvian Party's Rubiks Voices Support for CPSU *[TASS]* 43
Historian Assesses Latvia's Immediate Future *[SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH 31 May]* 43
Baltic Finance Ministers Discuss Strategy *[Vilnius Radio]* 45
Baltic Ministers of Justice Meet *[Vilnius Radio]* 45
Baltics To Apply for Europarliament Membership *[Riga International]* 45
Kezbers on Independent Baltic Communists' Meeting *[Vilnius Radio]* 45

RSFSR

Moscow TV Reports 5 Jul Supreme Soviet Session 46
Broadcasting Discussed 46
Structure Debated 46
Organization Viewed 47
Yeltsin on Precious Stones 47
Roles Discussed 48
Reportage on 5 Jul Supreme Soviet Session 48
Polozkov Interviewed *[Moscow Radio]* 48
Television Relays Discussed *[Moscow TV]* 49
Silayev Discusses Structure *[Moscow TV]* 49
Polozkov Chairs Meeting *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 6 Jul]* 50
Yeltsin on Metal Production *[Moscow TV]* 51
Filshin Nominated for Post in Supreme Soviet *[Moscow Radio]* 51
RSFSR Deputies React to Recent Congresses *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 26]* 51
Media Communists React to RSFSR Congress *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jun]* 52
Orthodox Church Patriarch Visits Novgorod *[TASS]* 53
Silayev, Patriarch Aleksey Hold Moscow Talks *[TASS]* 53
Yeltsin Attends Patriarch's Church Service *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jun]* 53
Russian Party Chief I.K. Polozkov Interviewed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Jul]* 53
Bloc of Leftist Forces Set Up in Leningrad *[TASS]* 59
Shostakovskiy Views Dropping Communism as Goal *[London TV]* 59
Democratic Platform Lacks Support in South Urals *[TASS]* 60
Yakutsk Conference Proposes Upgrading Republic *[Moscow Radio]* 60
Kaliningrad Becomes Open to Foreign Tourists *[TASS]* 60
Longer Suburban Trains To Ease Congestion *[Moscow TV]* 60
Sakhalin Railroad System To Undergo Review *[Moscow TV]* 61
Kostroma Atomic Power Plant Construction Halted *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Rostov Oblast To Halt AES Construction 62
Decision Announced *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Situation Explained *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jun]* 62
Nakhodka Mayor Discusses New Airport Prospects *[Tokyo KYODO]* 62
Black Sea Resorts Face Overcrowding, Pollution *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jun]* 63
Russian Agricultural Academy Established *[TASS]* 63
Chikin Calls for No Change in Paper's Status *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Jun]* 63
New Newspapers on Sale in Volgograd *[Moscow Radio]* 64

Western Republics

Odessa Oblast Deputies Refute Territorial Claims *[TASS]* 64
New Ukraine Communist Party Politburo Listed *[LITERATURNA UKRAYINA 28 Jun]* 64
New Ukraine Party Politburo Member Elected *[RADYANSKA UKRAINA 27 Jun]* 65
Gurenko Backs New Bloc of Ukrainian Deputies *[Kiev International]* 65
Ukrainian 'Rukh' Drops 'Perestroyka' From Title *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Jul]* 65
Moscow Under Fire at Ukrainian Congress *[PRAVDA 25 Jun]* 65
Supreme Soviet Deputies Visit Ukraine Garrisons *[TASS]* 67

Ivano-Frankovsk Region Holds Heroes Day *[Kiev International]* 68
Khmelnitskiy Holds Ecological Meeting 27 May *[Kiev International]* 68
'Moldovan' Front's Opposition to Draft Deplored *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Jul]* 68

Caucasus

Yerevan Demonstrators Demand Actions on NKAO *[Yerevan Radio]* 69
Shatalin Opposes Flight Restrictions to NKAO *[Yerevan Radio]* 69
Army Daily Reflects on Transcaucasus Violence *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 20 Jun]* 70
Chief Discusses Armenian National Army Goals *[KOMSOMOLETS 9 Jun]* 71
Army Paper Takes Issue With Yelena Bonner *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Jun]* 74
Unauthorized Helicopter Flights to Chaykend Viewed *[Baku Radio]* 75

Central Asia

Continued 'Tension' Reported in Osh Oblast *[TASS]* 76
Dushanbe Court Sentences Tajik Students *[Dushanbe Radio]* 76
Tajik Central Committee Plenum Reported *[PRAVDA 29 Jun]* 76

Gremitskikh 5 Jul Briefing on World Issues

Korean Rapprochement Praised

LD0507134290 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev:

The results of the latest meeting between representatives of Democratic Korea and South Korea, who resumed a dialogue after a long intermission, were described as very promising by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh.

The North and South had already agreed in principle to hold negotiations between the prime ministers of Democratic Korea and South Korea possibly next month. Their main purpose will be the removal of military-political confrontation and the establishment of cooperation between them.

"The Soviet Union welcomes any measures aimed at easing of tension in Korea, at creating an atmosphere of confidence and development of a dialogue between the two sides," the spokesman said. "The unprecedented steps Seoul and Pyongyang took to meet each other halfway undoubtedly deserve support and approval," he said.

"One would like to hope that the negotiations to be started at such a high level will lead to mutual understanding between the two countries and will open new opportunities for the establishment of broad contacts. This will ultimately help solve the Korean problem."

Gremitskikh said it is important to ensure that no artificial obstacles, such as the annual "Team Spirit" military exercises, interfere with the rapprochement of the two Korean states.

Troop Withdrawal From Hungary

LD0507135890 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 5 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh, at a news briefing today, focused on the course of Soviet-Hungarian talks about a settlement of property-and-financial issues connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

Having pointed out the public interest to the subject, Gremitskikh said that the procedure for the resolution of such issues is determined by current bilateral agreements that "the Soviet Union abides by."

The March 10, 1990, agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed on the territory of Hungary envisages that all property-and-financial issues should be resolved before the troops are completely withdrawn from the country, Gremitskikh said.

The talks are proceeding slowly, because the sides' positions differ substantially, he said. However, there are no grounds to dramatise the situation, said the spokesman.

Mutually-acceptable solutions taking into account the interests of the Soviet Union and Hungary can be found, provided there is a constructive approach, he added.

Belitskiy States NATO Needs 'New Look'

LD0507182590 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The two-day summit of the NATO countries in London, billed by the British media as the most important meeting of the NATO Council in its history, has naturally aroused considerable interest here in Moscow. What the soviet public expect of it is now discussed by Boris Belitskiy:

[Belitskiy] There is a generally favorable response here in Moscow to President George Bush's advance announcement that he intends to seek a revision of the NATO military doctrine. Everyone here will naturally be glad to see the end of the nuclear strategy of so-called flexible response which amounted to a threat to use nuclear weapons at the very start of any military conflict with the Warsaw Treaty states.

At the same time it is hard to see how the President's proposed new doctrine of using nuclear weapons only as a last resort will make senseion the absence of a clear and unambiguous commitment not to use nuclear weapons first, and as the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE has just explained in a London dispatch on its editorial page, the U.S. suggestion stops well short of a no first use doctrine. This being so, the man in the street here in Moscow will just shrug and say what sort of weapons of last resort are they if the Americans are prepared to use them first.

And of course people here are bound to note that according to a British senior government source quoted by Associated Press, Mrs. Thatcher is cool to the whole idea of declaring nuclear arms a weapon of last resort, just as she is cool to the idea of withdrawing some 1,400 nuclear artillery shells from Europe. A readiness to do so has likewise been indicated by the White House. To people here in Moscow it is hard to understand why the rapidly diminishing character of the Soviet threat, as AP calls it, can be perceived in distant Washington but not in much nearer London. The Warsaw Treaty member countries recently decided on far-reaching changes in the organization, to make it a political rather than military association. This is fully in the spirit of the profound changes for the better that are taking place in Europe and in the world, changes that dictate replacing military logic with political logic. While some of the pronouncements of the Western leaders lately would seem to reflect an understanding of these changes, some of their actions still fail to match those pronouncements.

The present NATO summit in London will accordingly be closely watched in Moscow for signs of further progress in this direction, in substituting political for military thinking, in translating the new climate in international relations into specific confrontation-reducing measures consonant with the improvements in the political situation. And of course it is hoped that the British Government, which is hosting the present NATO summit, will not be dragging its feet in buttressing the diminishing threat to peace with actions to scale down the now clearly obsolete degree of confrontation that existed in the days of the cold war. With the old enemy image now eroded, NATO too is surely in need of a new look.

NATO Secretary General To Visit 14 Jul

LD0607104190 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 6 Jul 90

["Urgent—NATO Secretary-General Woerner To Visit USSR"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner will begin an official visit to the Soviet Union on July 14, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told reporters here today.

Woerner has been invited by the Soviet Government.

Thatcher Urging of Friendship Offer Noted

LD0507170290 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 5 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Voskoboynikov]

[Text] London July 5 TASS—Addressing the session of the NATO Council that opened here today, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that Europe was passing through a turning point in its history.

Thatcher said she had received messages from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, both expressing interest in the session's successful work.

The prime minister noted she was also waiting with interest for the results of the forum, which is being held in such an extraordinary time.

Thatcher stressed that while demonstrating readiness to uphold their defence and unity, the NATO countries should be prepared to offer a hand of friendship to East Europe and the Soviet Union.

Effects of German Unification Viewed

LD0507154490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1145 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Program entitled "Point of View—an International Affairs Broadcast," presented by Viktor Levin, all-Unin radio commentator, inteviewing Nikolay Sergeyevich Portugalov, consultant to the CPSU Central Committee International Department, on German unification]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. Today we wish to touch on a question which is, as can be judged by letters from our radio listeners, of very great interest. It is a question of the unification of both German states. Nikolay Sergeyevich Portugalov, consultant to the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, is taking part in our broadcast. The first question I would like to discuss with him is this: What does the unification of both German states mean for us, for the Soviet Union, and for the European situation as a whole in general? After all, it is a fact that on Sunday 1 July, the treaty on economic, social, and currency union between both German states came into force. One can say that as far as these three aspects are concerned, the unification of both German states has already taken place. Well, what does this mean for us?

[Portugalov] The appearance of a unified Germany—and it is something that is inevitable and something that no longer needs to be predicted—can, perhaps, be termed as being the event of the 20th century. In any case, this event will predetermine, to a considerable extent, the political and, first and foremost, international development during the 21st century, which is already so close. But to start with, and quite briefly, a few words about the objective significance of this event. A mighty state appears in the center of Europe. As far as its potential is concerned, it exceeds any other state in West Europe. Its popuation is almost 80 million people who belong to the German nation. Its production potential is an extremely powerful one. Its prospects for further economic development are grand indeed.

As far as I can understand, in this conversation we are interested, above all, in what is customarily understood by the formula foreign political aspects of the German unification.

[Levin] Perfectly true, Nikolay Sergeyevich, because we are very worried about these issues; painfully so, this is how I would put it. This is because looking ahead to the 21st century, we think of the past. We are not oblivious to the fact that in the 20 century, Germany—well one can to some degree debate the extent of its full responsibility for unleashing World War I, but as far as World War II is concerned, responsibility is wholly down to the 1,000 years Nazi reich. Well, looking to the future, we think of the past and we compare the future with the past, and this at times gives rise in our country, justifiably so it seems to me, to complex and even alarming thoughts.

[Portugalov] You know, despite the fact that what you say is perfectly correct, and the fact that this concern is undoubtedly emerging in all Germany's neighbors—both in the West, in the East, and in the United States—due to considerations we shall not enter into here, I nevertheless am of the view that it is a beneficial process. My view is that Germany's unification has a chance, a

considerable chance at any rate, to become something that is beneficial to Europe. Second, all historical parallels are unsatisfactory, as is known, and this is very much the case. Nevertheless, I do discern some sort of remote similarity with the Rapallo situation in the beginning of the 1920s. We need each other. A unified Gemany as a single entity is needed by us, and a strong Soviet Union that has overcome its crisis is needed by the Germans.

[Levin] Nikolay Sergeyevich, I can agree with that, but what about such an alliance, not registered formally but dictated by....

[Portugalov, interrupting] A community of interests.

[Levin] A community of interests—that's a splendid expression for it—between Germany and the Soviet Union? Will it not provoke alarm in other European states? Will it not be to the detriment of other European states? After all, unfortunately there was again a moment—significantly later than Rapallo, admittedly—in 1939 when that community of interests led to very sad consequences, primarily for us, too.

[Portugalov] Viktor Nikolayevich, to remove the brackets from that situation of ill memory in 1939 and 1940 and to cut it out straight away, what we had then was not a community of interests but, in my view, a community of aggressive, imperial aspirations, when Stalin, in principle, betrayed the ideals of socialist foreign policy, acting on the specific basis of imperial interests. We will not get involved in that problem.

As for the foundation of your question, it is absolutely just, but it proves once more that any parallel is shaky, and sometimes very much so. Speaking about the community of interests, about the fact that we need each other, what I understand by that, and I am glad to have the chance to formulate it out loud, is that such a community of interests, such cooperation, such a mutually advantageous situation and development of Soviet-West German, I mean Soviet-German relations—you see how the old formulae still lie on the tongue, as the Germans say—is thinkable, and especially fruitful only within the framework of pan-European collaboration, pan-European cooperation, in fact in all spheres of life, beginning with security. Thus, the wheel has come full circle and we have returned to one of the main problems, the foreign policy aspects of German unification.

[Levin] In our country at present, this aspect is very often associated principally with the idea of what the future military-political status of a united Germany should be. Our official position is that a united Germany's membership of the NATO bloc which exists today is unacceptable to us. But, on the other hand, the proposals which we are expressing, fairly broad and diverse proposals—and I feel that Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze expressed a lot of interesting thoughts at the Berlin meeting of foreign ministers under the "two-plus-four" formula—are still coming up against very stubborn resistance from the West. How do you see the prospects for resolving this problem?

[Portugalov] It is an extremely complicated issue, although this is the most crucial issue in the situation that has developed. Contrary to what Western observers are writing, deliberately presenting our approach in a primative form for purposes of political propaganda, we do not rule out Germany's membership of NATO, and in principle we agree that the people of a nation in a united state should be free to determine their memberhsip of an alliance. We are compelled now to seek a compromise option by proposing to the West a whole palette, a whole spectrum, of alternatives, and the diversity and flexibility of our proposals is explained by this very fact.

You see—and I'll put this in brackets or, as they say, almost as an aside—it has recently become unbelievably fashionable here, both for venerable observers and for beginners and for current affairs commentators, to object to the Soviet Union's foreign policy on a particular issue, just because this strikes them as original. Perhaps that is being too severe, but it is the professionals' point of view. You see, when a venerable observer writes that an argument is not valid—I won't name names—that the argument that we are seeking to maintain stability in the sphere of security is invalid, since there is virtually nothing left of the Warsaw Pact, or something of that sort has been said, for that very reason—that the Warsaw Pact is ceasing to be a real military force and is transforming itself into a political alliance, but this is not visible on the NATO side—can it really be for nothing that compliments are being strewn and lavished on that venerable observer and many others, claiming that they are the true exponents of the new thinking in the Soviet Union? Isn't it strange that it is enough to copy the West's point of view to pass for a representative of the new thinking?

You see, it is all about the old principle of strategy, which Cheney repeats every day: It is not warlike intentions that are important, but the potential for war. To be brief, I will cite two quotations. General Galvin, the commander in chief of the NATO Armed Forces, said this in a recent interviews: The question of the deployment of air-launched missiles with nuclear warheads capable of reachign targets in the Soviet Union on the territory of the present West Germany, which will then already be the western part of the united Germany, is on the agenda at this moment, and the United States does not intend to give it up. This same point was confirmed by U.S. Secretary of State Baker in a recent interview. Baker also said: The temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of the present GDR, which is still in existence, is not an indefinite guarantee that they will stay. That is undoubtedly so, but, besides that he said: It is also not an indefinite guarantee that we will not extend NATO's integrated military structures to the territory of the GDR. This matter has not been resolved.

So, how can we swallow that, without the slightest inclination on the part of the West, and principally the United States, to seek a compromise solution to this issue? There will be no true restoration of unrestricted German sovereignty without the consent of the Soviet

Union. The Soviet Union must be met half-way. At the minimum, thought must be given to whether there is a need for the nuclear presence of third countries on German soil and their military activity, against whomsoever it might be directed.

[Levin] Nikolay Sergeyevich, you have touched on what are indeed sore points as far as questions of German unification are concerned. Well then, allow me, as directly as you have replied to the last question, to ask you to reply to this question: How do you see the future military and political status of a unified Germany?

[Portugalov] Viktor Nikolayevich, unfortunately at this moment in time I can only say how I would like to see it: No nuclear presence of third countries upon the German soil; the Japanese formula: Do not manufacture, do not acquire and do not deploy. I do not know why this would be a bad thing for the Germans. The way I see it is that the Germans would themselves, if this question were to be put to a referendum, which is not the case, but if this question were to be put to a referendum, it would get an overwhelming majority. Further, as for a transitional period, during which both German states as they are now would retain their obligations, but, you see, not a single document which, as diplomats would say, requires that some specific matter should be officially explained, not a single draft of such a document remains, as a rule, in the form in which it was originally compiled. [as heard] It is a foundation, a basis for achieving a compromise. This is all the more reason why bad feelings emerge and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, our president, said thus: Well, we have put forward at least a dozen proposals, endeavoring to meet the West half-way, but the West stubbornly says only thing: No, a unified Germany is a NATO member. This represents a legal foundation for an unlimited stay of U.S. troops on the German soil up until such times when the Germans say not to it. Incidentally it may well be that they will have their say very soon, who knows, right, while the Soviet troops remain, as it were, without any hard and fast rights by kind permission of NATO.

No, that will not do. We are, on the basis of reciprocity, ready to assist and to arrive at a situation in which all the foreign troops are withdrawn from the territory of Germany, but the Americans, evidently sensing that a grand exodus, a great retreat of Americans from Europe, at any rate where military presence is concerned, is coming to a head somewhere, want, to secure levers of influence there for as long as possible, at any price. I do not know whether it will come off or not. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union's security must here be taken into account. One more thing: The institutionalization of the all-European institutes, of the all-European bodies, their this fall already should, it goes without saying, give us the necessary guarantees of our security even if the unified Germany is a member of NATO. But one cannot synchronize it. To begin with, it will just be a rough sketch, an outline. Apart from that, none of it has, as yet, a real legal force. That is why we combine these things: this moral and political obligation, beginning from the Helsinki Final Act, and what kind of declaration can emerge from, say, an all-European conference, or what sort of declaration there can be concerning non-aggression between NATO and Warsaw Treaty. Again, the Americans see it as a moral obligation. No, we need a legal framework, legal forms of ensuring our security, both within the "two-plus-four" framework and within a pan-European framework.

[Levin] It is for this that we will fight. Thank you, Nikolay Sergeyevich.

Modrow Assesses German Unity Process

PM0407075390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Hans Modrow, honorary chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism and GDR People's Chamber deputy: "Whither the GDR, Whither Germany?"]

[Text] Berlin—From 1 July the FRG mark will be the only legal tender in the GDR. It is then that the process of reverting to capitalism [rekapitalizatsiya] begins in our country. The GDR's joining the FRG and thereby ceasing to exist is only a matter of time. What are the causes of this course of development?

As a long-standing member of the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], I find it hard to step back and look at the party in order to make a detailed and objective assessment of what has happened. But I can definitely say that the majority of SED members joined the party in the sincere belief that it was progressive. In fact, the formation of the SED, foreshadowed by the antifacist struggle of the Communist Party of Germany and Social Democratic Party of Germany, was a big step forward since it healed the split in the German workers movement.

We now know that the unification of the two parties, effected in accordance with a Stalinist design, contains the germ of the serious problems that would come to a head in subsequent decades. In the initial years they were obscured by the prevailing atmosphere of antifascist fervor in the country and the preoccupation with overcoming the spiritual and material legacy of the past and with the ills of the cold war.

The SED favored the creation of a unified democratic Germany and had hopes that it would be possible to eliminate capitalism from German soil in a short period of time. Obviously the West was apprehensive about this potential development, so it swiftly decided to create a separate West German state, the FRG, which in May 1949 laid the foundation for the division of Germany.

Since then there have been two states on German soil with opposite social systems: The capitalist FRG, which

became a member of NATO and of the European Community, and the GDR, which is a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA and has been building socialism very much along Soviet lines.

As in the other CEMA countries, the system of command-and-administer socialism in the GDR had become totally obsolete by the end of the sixties. The economy was incapable of meeting the demands of the scientific and technical revolution. The GDR fell further and further behind the FRG and the other developed capitalist states in terms of labor productivity. The living standard of the GDR population was lagging further and further behind the living standard in the FRG, which caused growing dissatisfaction among GDR citizens. However, the party and state leadership not only failed to draw the proper conclusions from this but ignored the actual state of affairs and rejected any criticism of the situation in the GDR as hostile to socialism.

When the CPSU embarked on perestroyka in 1985, the more I read M.S. Gorbachev's speeches and articles and the party documents, the clearer it became to me that something greater than a mere adjustment of the political course had begun. A picture of a radically renewed, genuinely democratic socialism was taking shape. Moreover, it was a gripping plan for a new, demilitarized world, living in cooperation and mutual understanding, a plan for tackling mankind's global problems.

But the then party and state leadership of the GDR neglected the opportunities offered to our country in this connection. Although it said it welcomed perestroyka in the Soviet Union, in fact it did its utmost to prevent the GDR from becoming involved in the process. The supporters of perestroyka in the SED and in the general population of the GDR were told to shut up or were subjected to repression. Soviet journals were banned and anti-Soviet sentiments were covertly fueled.

An exceptional opportunity to join the CPSU and the Soviet Union on the path of creating democratic socialism with a regulated market economy was missed. The hope that things would also change in the GDR, which increased particularly in 1995-1986, began to diminish. The economic situation deteriorated markedly.

The pressure built up and sought and found an outlet in the form of increasing migration to the FRG, primarily by young GDR citizens. Last summer people began to flee the GDR en masse. But even this did not prompt the party and state leadership to start changing its policy. It led to a protest movement in the country and mass demonstrations against the party and state leadership and its bankrupt policy in the streets of many cities.

In the fall of 1989 forces demanding democracy and the renewal of socialism were at the head of this movement. What was called a peaceful revolution took place in the GDR. The SED was unable to keep in step with this development, let alone play an active part in it. However, the democratic forces that started the revolutionary process of renewal were unable to win over the majority of the people, who no longer believed in the possibility of a better, democratic socialism. At the 18 March People's Chamber elections it voted for the parties which, supported by crude interference by Federal Chancellor Kohl and other Bonn politicians in the election struggle in the GDR, resolutely rejected socialism and promised that West German hard currency would be rapidly introduced in the country and the republic would soon join the FRG. So the goals of last fall's democratic revolution turned out to be unattainable.

The government coalition of bourgeois parties and the SED, created on the basis of the 18 March election, concluded a state treaty with the FRG Government envisaging the creation of a currency, economic, and social union with the FRG on 1 July this year. Thus, the GDR loses a substantial chunk of its sovereignty and acquires a substantial part of the FRG legal system. This marks a significant step on the path to the GDR's joining the FRG. Since the objectively essential shift toward democratic socialism was not promptly accomplished in the GDR, our country's reversion to capitalism was inevitable. M.S. Gorbachev was right when he said: He who is late is punished by life.

What has happened, however, does not mean that the GDR's 40-year existence should be wiped out. During these decades and during the very period since last October values have been created which cannot be allowed to disappear in a united Germany. They are a sense of solidarity between people, mutual assistance, the ability to conduct a nonviolent revolution, the policy of sexual equality, equal educational opportunities for everyone, political self-awareness on the part of millions of citizens, and their active struggle for peace.

Contradictions which the leaders used to neutralize by means of draconian disciplinary measures have been manifesting themselves openly in the SED since October 1989. The discrepancy between the propaganda that was used to embellish reality and the reality itself was so obvious that the bulk of the party members no longer agreed with Politburo policy. The demands for the democratization of life in the GDR, which people in the party had started to make, were becoming ever louder. The SED faced a serious test: The threat of a split or even the disbandment of the party was present at last December's extraordinary party congress.

It was in this situation that the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], which originally called itself the SED-PDS, was created. It was pointed out that our credo comprised the ideals of socialism and a desire for a just, humane society, geared to the protection of the environment, in which everyone is free to develop as an individual. We got rid of the Stalinist notions of socialism, the total bureaucracy system, the party's claim to possess the absolute truth and to a legally established leading role, empty propaganda formulas posing as theory, and the persecution of dissidents.

Experience shows that socialism cannot be created by orders from "on high." It has to grow from below, come from the people's masses. That is the position of the PDS. It is a party founded not by power, but by the will of the electorate, a party that relies on its members and on cooperation with all democratic forces.

The new party is a political refuge for many left-wing forces in the GDR who for a long time now have been seeking new ways of implementing socialist ideals in conditions of the present-day world, and also for those who were only nominal members or the SED and have now started to reconsider their views.

The PDS is only one party in the GDR. However, in view of the upcoming unification of the two German states on a capitalist basis, it is necessary to define its role as an integral part of the left-wing movement in Germany. Together with all the other left-wing forces in a united Germany, it would propose progressive solutions on the protection of the population's interests in capitalist conditions. Our party will advocate the radical democratization of all social structures and, in particular, ownership of the means of production.

Our aim is to implement revolutionary reforms, since we are convinced that capitalism cannot be the last word in the development of mankind and that a peaceful, socially just alternative, free from all types of exploitation and enslavement, is necessary and possible.

We see ourselves as a consistent socialist party devoted to the whole wealth of left-wing ideas accumulated by mankind. The theoretical roots of the PDS are the dialectical, materialist, and historical method of analyzing Marx and the other theorists and politicians that follow his traditions. We are learning from the experience of socialist, communist, social democratic, and other parties and movements and have been and will remain closely linked with the CPSU.

It is evident from the many letters that are coming in, including letters from the Soviet Union, that what worries many people in connection with the changes that are taking place in the GDR is what role a united Germany will play in Europe.

The fundamental transformations taking place on our continent offer, on the one hand, an opportunity to build a peaceful, democratic Europe, based on the mutual understanding and cooperation of the peoples in it, the concept for which was formulated by M.S. Gorbachev back in 1985, looking far ahead, in his proposal on the creation of a common European home. But, on the other hand, these transformations pose the threat of instability and new political conflicts. In recent months it has become increasingly obvious that the outcome of this process significantly depends on how the building of German unity goes. Will the European Germany that has been talked about actually take shape or will the future Germany be an enlarged copy of today's FRG?

Responsibility for the solution of these questions also dictated my proposal on the creation of a "united Fatherland," which I, as prime minister of the newly formed government of national responsibility, put to the public on 1 February. Moreover, I should have borne in mind that after the majority of GDR citizens had advocated the unification of the two German states it was necessary to take advantage of every opportunity of ensuring that this process took place within a sensible framework and without any haste and was integrated in general European development.

I believe that, remembering the two world wars that started in Germany, we Germans have an obligation to learn the lessons of history. All the peoples of Europe, not least those of the Soviet Union, are entitled to expect the unification process to rule out the possibility of the existence of any grounds for great-power aspirations and feelings of national superiority and racial and national hatred in future German policy.

Therefore, the PDS wants a future Germany that will ensure the maximum degree of democracy, human rights, and social justice, because only in these conditions would this state be capable of conducting a peace-loving foreign policy.

The PDS favors a Germany which, from the international-law viewpoint, would deem its neighbors' borders, above all the western border of Poland, final and inviolable, that is, it would abandon any territorial claims.

The PDS favors a Germany which, precisly because it is a strong state, would be a pioneer of disarmament and of the creation of joint common European security structures and do everything to prevent the rebirth of fascism and racial and national hatred.

We favor a Germany that uses its numerous contacts and links with the peoples of East and West Europe to build bridges in the center of our continent to the creation of a peaceful European order, a Germany that directs its immense economic potential not against, but in the interests of the peoples of the third world and of overcoming their socioeconomic backwardness.

I am convinced that such a Germany will not be a threat to anyone and will occupy a prominent place in the family of the peoples.

The acceleration of the process of creating German state unity, which is being implemented today, above all by the FRG Government, runs the risk of augmenting the seats of instability that still exist in Europe. In this sphere efforts are being made, with the help of a state treaty that is divorced from the "2 plus 4" talks process, to knock together German currency and economic union and present the partners with faits accomplis. If hasty currency union leads to social tension, an historic opportunity for the future of the process of European unity could be missed: The danger would be that the German unification process would be conducted as a matter of

urgency without considering the interests of other countries, particularly the East European countries.

Equally dangerous is NATO's desire to resolve the complex question of the military-political status of a united Germany along the lines of the old bloc and confrontational thinking.

Europe is on the way to new structures, in which a united Germany will take its place as an equal partner. But we want it to be integrated in the all-European process, and not unilaterally in NATO.

In the interests of forming new, cooperative security structures NATO and the Warsaw Pact must become political alliances and eventually disband themselves. This development would be hampered, in our view, if the question of Germany's bloc membership were decided contrary to the opinion of one of the military-political alliances. And the PDS is not alone in thinking that the votes GDR citizens cast on 18 March in favor of the FRG mark are in no way votes in favor of GDR membership of NATO.

If Germany tries to use the growing potential to strengthen and expand its supremacy in Europe, it would have unfavorable consequences for the all-European process. Advocating, as it does, the constructive continuation of the CSCE process, the PDS considers it its duty, in particular, to seek greater stability and security in Europe, which meets the interests of the peoples of both our states. Therefore, our party supports the idea of concluding a broad treaty on security in Europe, which is based on the results achieved during the CSCE process and turns them into a form of European security council and other institutions.

We favor all-European integration in the economic, social, technological, and ecological fields and in the spheres of law and order, culture, and so on.

The development of the European unification process will benefit all the peoples of the continent. The PDS, as a left-wing force in Germany and Europe, intends to contribute to it.

GDR's Meckel Supports Nuclear-Free Europe

PM0407135490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 26, 8-15 Jul 90 p 1

[Undated interview with GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, by Vladimir Markov: "Markus Meckel: A Nuclear-Free Germany"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Berlin—The second meeting between the foreign ministers of the GDR, FRG, USSR, the United States, France and Great Britain has taken place in Berlin, on the "2 plus 4" formula. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Markus Meckel, replies to MOSCOW NEWS' questions.

[MN] During the Berlin meeting, you spoke in favour of Germany's future abstention not only from production, possession and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but also from the deployment of such weapons on German soil. Would you please elaborate on this new element in your position?

[Meckel] Even today we must work to design and implement new pan-European security structures. Obviously, this new system of security must be independent of old doctrines that rely on nuclear weapons. You may say: nuclear means can be necessary in the future—for example, to protect navies. Perhaps that's true. However, nuclear means are clearly redundant in the centre of Europe. All nuclear powers must contribute to the creation of a nuclear-free Europe. Of course, I include in this number both the Soviet Union and NATO. In view of Germany's reunification, we mustn't delay any longer a complete revision of the current nuclear doctrines involving Europe.

[MN] What's your opinion about the recent Soviet proposals concerning the establishment of new relations between the WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization] and NATO?

[Meckel] We support these proposals and share the opinion that both the WTO and NATO need to jointly declare the new principles concerning their interrelations. In this connection, we propose a conference of high-placed representatives of the members of the two blocs even before the top-level meeting of state participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe scheduled for this November in Paris.

Petrovskiy Cited on UN Western Sahara Resolution

PM0307092990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Response of USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman"]

[Text] A TASS diplomatic correspondent asked Yu.A. Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, to comment on the decision on the Western Sahara recently adopted by the Security Council.

The UN Security Council's unanimous adoption of Resolution 658 on the Western Sahara, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said, has opened up a new page in the search for ways to settle the situation in northwest Africa by using the experience and potential of the United Nations. The resolution, adopted as a result of intensive diplomatic contacts, reaffirms the important and sometimes decisive role played by the United Nations, its Security Council, and its secretary general in settling complex seats of tension and asserting a reliable universal security structure based on a balance of interests, nonviolence, morality, and recognition by each people of the right to freedom of choice.

The positive outcome of the examination of this issue by the Security Council was achieved thanks to constructive cooperation among its members, the active efforts of the UN secretary general, and the spirit of cooperation shown by the directly interested parties. We hope that the Security Council resolution will promote an increased dynamic in the process of finding a political solution to the Western Sahara problem based on the proposals of the UN secretary general and the OAU chairman previously adopted by Morocco and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia El Hamra and Rio de Oro. The secretary general's report approved by the Council developed these proposals and is a kind of "draft plan" for their implementation. We proceed on the basis that the Security Council will give the "green light" to the UN operation to hold a referendum in Western Sahara when J. Perez de Cuellar submits the next detailed report defining all the parameters of this operation.

Reshetov Gives Briefing on CSCE Rights Meeting

LD0507172590 Moscow TASS in English 1319 GMT 5 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Voitsekhovich]

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—Yuriy Reshetov, head of the Soviet delegation to the conference of the CSCE member-countries on humanitarian cooperation and human rights, told a briefing here today that the conference put an end to the European division over humanitarian issues.

He said at the briefing called by the Soviet Foreign Ministry that the final document of the conference held in Copenhagen between June 9-25 describes human rights for the first time as a component part of democratic development.

The document also recognises that "pluralistic democracy" and a law-governed state are necessary to ensure human rights and freedoms.

Reshetov stressed that the establishment of a law-governed state and the supremacy of law in society's life is an important aspect of present changes in the USSR.

The Soviet Union adopted 67 legislative acts over the past few months alone, he said. Most of them deal with human rights.

According to Reshetov, the implementation of laws on property, land, leaseholding and cooperation will enable the country to create an economic basis for the implementation of human rights and freedoms.

According to Reshetov, the implementation of laws on property, land, leaseholding and cooperation will enable the country to create an economic basis for the implementation of human rights and freedoms.

Reshetov said that the next conference on humanitarian cooperation of the CSCE countries would be held in Moscow in September-October 1991.

United States & Canada

Yazov Receives Former U.S. Senator 5 Jul

PM0507160590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov: "Conversation at USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Text] On 5 July, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received former Senator G. Hart, the prominent U.S. social and political figure, at his request. During the conversation they discussed a broad range of topical present-day problems.

Replying to his guest's questions, the USSR defense minister outlined the Soviet military leadership's views on ways to ensure the reliable security of Europe, which is undergoing renewal, and the whole world and described the course of the military reform in the USSR, which is based on the new defensive military doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency and the priority of qualitative parameters. Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov gave his thoughts on the creation of a nonnuclear model of security and th need to increase the potential for East-West trust and to continue the movement away from the confrontation of the past toward the strengthening USSR-U.S. cooperation for the good of both countries' peoples and the sake of lasting world peace.

The conversation took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Historian Views Economic Ties With U.S.

PM0407140490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 26, 8-15 Jul 90 p 12

[Article by Aleksey Pushkov: "What Can We Expect From the USA?"]

[Text] Now that our cooperation with America is entering the most constructive phase ever, this question is very timely. But first we must answer another question: what are we to the Americans?

Several generations of Americans genuinely feared the military might of the USSR. Gorbachev's wild popularity in the U.S. is primarily explained by the fact that he has relieved Americans of this fear. Now most Americans feel that they no longer have to fear a Soviet threat. They also acknowledge our democratic progress. Nevertheless, the positive change in attitude towards the USSR is seriously hampered politically. Partially, that can be explained by the inertia of the traditional metnality and unwillingness to part with the old enemy image. However, the present Soviet reality gives Americans some cause for concern as well.

To begin with, few Americans believe the official soviet figures concerning the country's defence budget. The figures are put into doubt even by the Soviet press. Besides the way the Soviet defence budget is drawn up is still a secret. The Commission of the Supreme Soviet on Derence and State Security is apparently inactive. Decisions concerning priorities in the defence spendings, as well as the volume of these spendings are not a subject for public discussion yet. Despite parity in armaments, the U.S. and the USSR still don't have "parity in openness" in this most important sphere.

However, the "Soviet issue" has always been acknowledged by Americans (and presented by the ruling circles of that country) primarily in terms of U.S. national security. Of course, national security can mean almost anything, but this doesn't change matters. Does the U.S. public consider this issue as resolved nowadays? Not yet, and, frankly speaking, they are not like to soon. Besides new fears crop up as soon as old ones disappear.

Americans do not 100 per cent believe in the ultimate success of perestroika in the Soviet Union. Consequently, they are not sure what Soviet foreign policy will be in the future. The most frequent question political-minded Americans ask a Soviet visitor is: how secure is the current Soviet President position? The election of Boris Yeltsin as chairman of Russia's parliament has only added to the uncertainty.

The general instability inside the USSR only aggravates Americans' concern. In the words of THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, it is the chaos in the USSR rather than the possibility of a new global conflict that bothers Americans nowadays. The thought of civil war in a country which has at its disposal thousands of nuclear warheads is indeed terrifying.

The U.S. Administration and Congress are faced with too many unknowns, and this is hampering progress in disarmament and in general Soviet-American rapprochement. What's more, Bush is facing harsh criticism from the right for his alleged "unjustified concessions to the soviet side" in talks in strategic offensive weapons and for his excessively unequivocal verbal support for Gorbachev and the policy of perestroika. The talk about retaining socialism in the Soviet society is palmed off by the right-wing forces as another proof that the USSR is only planning to "reform its communist system". But the preservation of this system, they argue, will lead back to its old practices.

Besides, the conviction that the two countries are going to remain rivals—if not on the ideological then on the state level—in the foreseeable future, even if they become partners and their cooperation is strengthened, is still dominant in the U.S. The reasons are: the military, including nuclear, arsenals which have been accumulated; the alliances and obligations; and the geopolitical situation which involves the possibility of a clash of interests in the world arena.

True, the summit was an important event and brought concrete results both to the Soviet and American people, as well as to the world community at large. It is another step towards the weaking of the concept of "containment" and towards strengthening the concept of cooperation. Today it is especially important to have a well-balanced view of the prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations. However history proves that excessive expectations are at least as dangerous as excessive scepticism.

I often hear nowadays that we are yielding to U.S. demands at each step, while the U.S. doesn't reciprocate. But neither the first nor the second thesis is correct. It is enough to say that talks between the two countries about cuts in Armed Forces, as well as discussions of the military-political status of Germany and certain other international policy issues, are very difficult. We are involved in a complicated search for compromises and a balance of interests. The results are mutually advantageous steps, like the signing of the trade agreement in Washington.

Are we ready for the kind of partnership which we urge Americans to enter into? The answer may be positive when speaking about political, scientific and humanitarian spheres, but it can hardly be so when speaking about economic cooperation, the sphere where the strongest ties can be established.

We still cherish the myth that the foreign investment beast is dying to pounce on Soviet natural resources, exploit the cheap Soviet workforce and get a strong foothold on the vast Soviet market, and that once the door is opened even a crack, dollars will flood in and "buy up the whole country". The door is open now, but the Western capital investment in this country is almost non- existent. Appeals to American enterpreneurs to get into the Soviet market before it is invaded by others have so far fallen on deaf ears, perhaps because these "others" are too few. It's no wonder though the Soviet Union has created favourable conditions for foreign investments, a lot of difficulties still remain. Excessive bureaucracy, and the absence of information, a market in raw materials, comprehensive legislation, bank guarantees, good production and office facilities, and basic means of communications scare away even the bravest.

Joint ventures haven't done so well: out of 1,500 registered joint ventures 90 percent are inactive, and only a few are involved in industrial production. Trust has been seriously undermined by the general economic situation in the country, by the scope of our economic problems and increasingly by the insolvency of certain Soviet enterprises and organizations.

According to the Western press, payments to the sum of $2 billion are over-due. If this continues, in the opinion of The Wall Street Journal, Western banks may refuse to extend Soviet loans. Interest rates have already been increased and we face stricter demands for repayment of short-term loans, which only adds to our hard-currency shortage.

Half measures cannot help us out in this as well as in all other spheres. It is necessary to introduce a favourable climate for foreign investments, to attract rather than scare away investors. We must court not only small and medium companies, but large ones—transnationals. We need free economic zones for that, like in China. Of course, we must see to it that our own economic interests are not violated. What we need is a comprehensive policy of economic cooperation with the West. Even if the U.S. Congress ratifies the U.S.-USSR trade agreement the volume of trade will not increase dramatically.

Americans are pragmatists. They are interested in the outside world only so far as it affects their immediate interests. Today we are "in vogue" in the U.S. However, the interest towards us can wane in future and be replaced with mistrust and withdraw. We mustn't miss the chance which has been largely created by ourselves. It would be very bad if our newly gained partners gave up on us as partners. Should this be the case, then we shall be in for another upward spiral in international tensions.

China

CPC Sends Greetings to CPSU Congress

PM0407140590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[CPC Central Committee message to 28th CPSU Congress under the general heading: "Greetings From Foreign Parties"]

[Text] To the 28th CPSU Congress.

Dear comrades!

On the occasion of the opening of the 28th CPSU Congress we send on behalf of the CPC our sincere congratulations to the congress and also to the members of the CPSU and the Soviet people and wish the congress success.

We are glad to be able to say that since the normalization of relations between our two states and parties, which was carried out at the 1989 Chinese-Soviet summit, our mutual understanding and friendship have strengthened and cooperation has developed in various spheres. This not only meets the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, but favors the cause of peace and stability the world over and mankind's progress. We are sure that relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPC and the CPSU will be further strengthened and developed on the basis of the principles of independence and autonomy, complete equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

Chinese Communists are following very closely the enormous amount of hard work Soviet Communists are doing in the sphere of creation and perestroyka. We sincerely hope that through joint efforts you will overcome the various difficulties and obstacles and continue

the advance along the path of socialism. Heartfelt wishes for the prosperity and development of the Soviet state and happiness of the people.

[Signed] CPC Central Committee

Commentary Views PRC-Mongolia Relations

OW0407011590 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Dear listeners, Ochirbat, chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], said that Mongolia has been striving to effectively promote economic cooperation with China on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. In this connection, station commentator Alekseyev has the following comments:

These relations between China and Mongolia have become a reality. For instance, in March this year China and Mongolia discussed and agreed to establish a number of joint ventures and expand border trade. The visit to China by Ochirbat, chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural, in April has promoted economic relations between the two countries. During his visit, a number of agreements on further expanding trade and economic cooperation were reached. For example, the Chinese side expressed its willingness to extend loans to Mongolia for setting up medium and small industrial enterprises. It should be pointed out that the major changes in political relations between the two countries in recent years have enabled them to restore economic contacts.

In the mid 1960's, relations between the two countries were in fact cut off. A situation of tension existed between them for a long time. In the 1980's, obstacles for improving relations were gradually eliminated. In 1988, China and Mongolia signed an agreement on mediating border disputes. This has established a foundation for establishing a peaceful and good-neighbor border. In 1989, the foreign ministers of the two countries exchanged visits. The mutual visits promoted full normalization of relations between the two countries. Both China and Mongolia agreed that Ochirbat's visit to China raised relations to a new level, laying a foundation for extensive cooperation.

What factors have promoted the improvement of relations between China and Mongolia? Of course, both sides wish to restore good-neighbor relations and start full-scale cooperation. This is in accord with the people's interests in both countries.

In my opinion, the military situation is also an important factor. China's reduction of forces by 1 million troops was considered important by Ulaanbaatar. On the other hand, China also highly appraised the Soviet Union's withdrawal of troops from Mongolia. The Soviet Union will withdraw three-fourths of its troops from Mongolia this year and will totally withdraw its troops from Mongolia by 1993.

The normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China has also promoted the restoration of good-neighbor relations between Mongolia and China.

Northeast Asia

USSR-DPRK Treaty Anniversary Remembered

PM0507200790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 90 Second Edition p 7

[Articleby I. Basegin: "Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] The Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the DPRK was signed 29 years ago. This is the most important document in our bilateral relations. In all those years it has worked actively, and cooperation has developed solidly. It should be noted that the Soviet Union is the DPRK's largest foreign economic partner. The USSR's share of the DPRK's foreign trade turnover is almost 40 percent. The USSR exports primarily industrial equipment, oil, coke, and other raw materials to the DPRK. In turn we receive magnesite clinker, ferrous and nonferrous metals, and consumer goods. Border trade is developing. Cooperation is proving to be mutually beneficial.

As we mark the anniversary of the treaty, we would like to hope that the future of Soviet-Korean cooperation will be even richer and more effective.

Commentator Views Anniversary

SK0607022490 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Twenty-nine years ago, on 6 July 1961, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed between the USSR and the DPRK. Our station commentator (Aleksey Nikolayev) discloses his (?opinion) regarding the status of relations between the two countries.

He says: There is a Korean saying that "Even a beauty has a spot." Until recently, in speaking about the USSR-DPRK relations, we had normally cited the case of love. Today, however, we more often talk about pending issues.

In my opinion, this means, we should know, that (?there has been a popular demand for an emotional adjustment). Today, when there has appeared another nuance in the (?delicate) nature of Moscow-Pyongyang relations, this has become all the more true.

I recall the recent meeting between the presidents of the USSR and the ROK.

Impatient analysts have concluded that the USSR has chosen the South over the North. This is groundless. The worn-out theory—frankly speaking, the theory which causes damage—in other words, the theory that

improving relations with one side means the deterioration of relations with the other side seems to have come into play. This kind of judgment can only complicate the situation around the Korean peninsula, regardless of the intention.

Today, in settling matters, the future must also be taken into consideration.

The possibility of the future establishment of USSR-ROK diplomatic relations cannot be ruled out. However, the stand of the Soviet leadership toward this matter has been expressed very clearly. The matter can be considered only in conjunction with the future improvement of the situation on the Korean peninsula.

Realizing the rapid change the current world is experiencing, how can we deny the fact that the reunification of Korea can become a reality? Such being the case, the issue of mutual relations between the DPRK and the ROK can be dealt with in a new prospective.

Today, we have no doubt that the USSR and the DPRK will continue to develop and consummate their traditional relations in politics and economy. Complexities which can arise in this course should not serve as stumbling blocks in the normal relations between the two countries. This is also linked with the difference between the views of their internal development.

As the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesperson stressed recently, the USSR will strictly respect the principle of not interfering in the DPRK's internal affairs. At the same time, in the future, too, our country will continue to support the DPRK's constructive proposals for easing tension and for improving the political situation on the Korean peninsula.

There is no change in our stand toward the peaceful reunification of Korea. We consider that wide-ranging dialogue between the two Korean sides is a shortcut to reunification.

Society Sends Greetings

SK0607043190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] On the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the signing of the USSR-DPRK Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, the Standing Committee of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Central Management Committee of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society sent a message of greetings to (Yi Song-yol), chairman of the Central Management Committee of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society.

The message noted, among other things: This agreement based on relations of complete equal rights, independence, sovereignty, and mutual comradely relations became a strong basis for developing and solidifying the friendly, neighborly relations between the two countries and serves dependably the work of solidifying peace in the Far East.

Mongolian Party Committee Greets CPSU Congress

PM0507155790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Greetings to 28th CPSU Congress from the MPRP Central Committee under the general heading: "Greetings From Foreign Parties"]

[Text] To the 28th CPSU Congress

Dear comrades,

The MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee sends cordial greetings to the delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress and wishes them fruitful work.

We are convinced that this forum of Soviet communists will successfully carry out its historic mission and map out ways to further comprehensively deepen perestroyka in the interests of the Soviet people and the cause of peace, democracy, and social progress.
[Signed] MPRP Central Committee

Yeltsin Says Russia-Japan Treaty Possible

LD3006103890 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, says it is possible to conclude a separate treaty between Russia and Japan on trade and culture.

Interviewed by the Japanese news agency JIJI press, Mr. Yeltsin said that Russia's sovereignty allowed for concluding independent treaties with foreign countries. Asked about Japan's claims to a number of the Kurile Islands, Mr. Yeltsin expressed the hope that Tokyo would avoid bringing up that issue in preparing a treaty with the Russian Federation. He believes that the territorial question must be settled on the basis of a future peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnam Communist Party Sends Greetings to CPSU

PM0507152590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Message from the Communist Party of Vietnam to the 28th CPSU Congress; under the general heading: "Greetings From Foreign Parties"]

[Text] To the 28th CPSU Congress.

Esteemed comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV], the working class, and the Vietnamese people we send most ardent congratulations to the 28th congress of the glorious CPSU and, through its participants, to the communists, working class, and fraternal people of the Soviet Union. The 28th CPSU Congress is an event of enormous importance in the political life of the working class and the Soviet people and has great international significance.

The CPSU, created and tempered by V.I. Lenin, has existed for nearly 90 years. Under its leadership the working class and the Soviet people carried out the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in mankind's history—the era of socialism and communism. The glorious victory of the Red Army and Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War saved the peoples of the world from fascist enslavement and human civilization from the threat of destruction, led dozens of countries onto the socialist path of development, helped many states acquire independence, and created favorable conditions for the peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. The peoples of the world will remember forever the enormous contribution by the CPSU and the government and people of the USSR.

Following World War II the Soviet Union was able, as a result of unprecedented efforts, to swiftly put the country back on its feet after the grim devastation and to turn the USSR into a mighty socialist power—a secure stronghold of peace and world revolution.

In order to bring socialism to a qualitatively new stage of development, the 27th CPSU Congress devised the perestroyka strategy, the purpose of which is to make the country prosperous and to actively assist the cause of peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism worldwide.

Esteemed comrades. The communists and people of Vietnam note with a sense of great joy that the friendship and relations of cooperation between the CPV and the CPSU and our countries' peoples are steadily strengthening and developing. Friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union have now entered a new stage, they are being strengthened and renewed in the interests of increasing their effectiveness and bringing them into line with the situation in both countries and the current international situation. Our people are deeply aware that the victories of the Vietnamese revolution over a period of nearly 50 years are bound up with the ardent supoport and great and effective assistance rendered by the Communist Party and government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union in the spirit of lofty socialist internationalism. Allow us to express on behalf of the CPV, the working class, and the Vietnamese people sincere and profound gratitude to the Communist Party and government and fraternal people of the Soviet Union for this valuable support and assistance.

The Communist Party and people of Vietnam are firmly confident that, under the CPSU's leadership, the heroic Soviet people, creators with strong revolutionary traditions, will overcome all the difficulties and ordeals and victoriously implement perestroyka, aimed at the further strengthening of socialism, and will make a big contribution to the cause of peace, security, and social progress worldwide.

We wish the 28th CPSU Congress successful work. May the great friendship, militant solidarity, and comprehensive cooperation between the CPV and CPSU and Vietnamese and Soviet peoples continue to strengthen.

Long live the glorious CPSU! Long live the USSR! Long live the invincible teaching of Marxism-Leninism!
[Signed] CPV Central Committee.

Cambodia's Heng Samrin Greets Gorbachev

PM0507160190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Greetings message to Gorbachev from Heng Samrin, general secretary of the CPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Cambodian Council of State, under the general heading: "Greetings From Foreign Parties"]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR president, Moscow

Esteemed Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, in connection with the opening of the 28th CPSU Congress I am pleased to send CPSU Central Committee members and delegates to the party forum ardent fraternal greetings on behalf of the Cambodian People's Revolutionary Party [CPRP] Central Committee and on my own behalf.

Implementing the transformations outlined by the CPSU, the Soviet Union has achieved striking, world-renowned achievements. Thanks to its peace-loving policy the USSR is playing an increasingly weighty role in the world community.

The CPRP, recognizing its responsibility for the fate of the country and the Cambodian people, is taking account of the new realities and contradictions of our time and responding to them by further developing the revolutionary movement with a view to strengthening the people's right to be masters in accordance with common human values and for the sake of social progress.

We make a high assessment of fraternal CPRP-CPSU relations and are prepared to continue to develop and strengthen them for the sake of peace and progress.

The CPRP and the Cambodian people express gratitude to the CPSU and all Soviet people for their moral and material help and support in protecting and building the motherland and in safeguarding Cambodians' vital rights.

We wish the 28th CPSU Congress success in its work.

[Signed] Heng Samrin, general secretary of the CPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Cambodian Council of State

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry Official on Jewish Emigration

LD0507143890 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1300 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Ministry has explained to Yleisradio [Finnish Broadcasting Company] the emigration of Soviet Jews from the country. Yuriy Reshetov, head of a department [as heard] at the Foreign Ministry, says that the arrangement of direct flights from the Soviet Union to Israel would aggravate the situation in the Middle East and violate international law.

Jyrki Saarikoski reports from Moscow:

[Saarikoski] The emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel is a difficult question for Moscow. On one hand, in accordance with present policies those desiring to leave will have to be allowed to go; on the other, the settlement of immigrants on Israeli-occupied territories violates the rights of Palestinians and may turn Moscow's Arab friends into former friends.

Yuriy Reshetov, head of a department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said in an interview to Yleisradio that direct flights would aggravate the situation in the Middle East and would make it easier to violate international law. The air route was being planned, but it had to be abandoned, according to Reshetov, because of Israel's attitude.

A solution emerged: transit through a third country, such as Finland. In Reshetov's opinion, every country acts as it sees best in the matter. He let it be understood that the Soviet Union has not obtained any guarantees from Israel that immigrants would not be settled in occupied teritories. Reshetov wants a clear statement from Israel and stresses the possibility of Israel settling the immigration matter so as not to violate anyone's rights. This would, according to him, also open direct flights from Moscow to Jerusalem. This is the view of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

But while direct flights are awaited, the emigrants' travel program includes Lappeenranta Airport [in southeastern Finland] or some other transit point so that all rules should be observed. Although the transit would not have any effect on the flow of emigration, it offers Moscow a kind of fig leaf in the arena of international politics. That is needed, for from the internal political point of view, it is difficult to curb any longer the desire to emigrate of hundreds of thousands of Jews, whose desire is fanned, in addition to sporadic anti-Semitic demonstrations, by the uncertainty of the Soviet Union's economic and political future.

Afghan Leader's Policy on Intervention Noted

PM0407152390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy, specially written for IZVESTIYA: "Afghanistan: Party Reviews Program"]

[Excerpt] Kabul—[passage omitted] The 822 delegates to the Second PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] Congress focused close attention on the entire 25-year period since the party's first, constituent congress. The analysis was bold, pragmatic, and free from many old dogmas and ideological errors.

"An army officers' uprising on 27 April 1978 supported by the Afghan people's masses." That was how Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, formulated in his report the events which are still known as the "April Revolution." He voiced sharp criticism of the situation within the party which, since its very formation, has suffered from a split into the Khalq and Parcham factions whose consequences are still felt to this day. The lack of political party experience, the low level of consciousness, the headlong rush forward, the concentration of power in the hands of individuals—such are the consequences of the objective and subjective origins of the split. The party's adoption of a "certain ideology," Najibullah stressed, enabled some people to brand the PDPA with the "stamp of communism." The party's main mistake since coming to power, according to Najibullah, was its leadership's refusal to cooperate with active and influential allies.

Many mistakes were indeed made. But the Soviet reader cannot fail to be interested in the assessment of the decision to introduce Soviet troops into Afghanistan. Najibullah stated that this action "did not meet Afghanistan's national interests." This is a new verdict: Previously Afghan leaders officially refrained from such comments. At the same time he expressed gratitude to the Soviet people, their leadership, and also the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for the comprehensive assistance which the Soviet Union has been giving Afghanistan since the Soviet troops' withdrawal.

The national reconciliation policy, which is aimed at achieving peace in Afghanistan, remains the pivot of the party and state course for the future, the general secretary noted. But the situation in the country "has forced our party to revise its program and its practical activity." The changes here are highly significant. Delegates approved the PDPA's change of name to the Party of the Fatherland. Najibullah was unanimously confirmed as its chairman. A party Central Council has been elected with a narrower composition than its predecessor—the PDPA Central Committee. The 15-man Central Council Executive Committee replaces the Politburo. As executive committee member Farid Mazdak stated at a meeting with journalists, the party will have a national and Islamic character. That, like the new action program, is expected to broaden its social base.

Some political observers have already characterized the changes in the party as "dramatic." These changes, it seems, will attract fresh forces to it and help to increase its popularity among the broad strata of Afghan society. But the vital question remains—how will the Peshawar insurgent parties react to them?

Experience based on familiarization with the "intransigents'" political course suggests that they will pin the red badge of communism on the renewed party too. For one simple reason—without an enemy image the very existence of the Peshawar "jokers," as the U.S. press calls them, becomes pointless. The achievement of national accord and the creation of a coalition government as a result of free and democratic elections does not suit them. But that means preserving the tense situation for an unspecified long time to come.

Saudi Banker Views Development of Relations

LD0407103190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with Prof. Hasan 'Abdallah Kamil, executive director of Saudi Arabia's Al-Barakah Investment and Development Company, by Yu. Stroyev under the rubric "Guest of 'Dialogue'"; date and place not given: "'We Are Ready to Cooperate'"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Emissaries from Saudi Arabia are rare guests of the USSR. For a long time relations between our countries were at a standstill. Even now the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia have still not exchanged diplomatic missions. However, readers' interest in the development of ties between the two countries is quite great. We put their questions to Prof. Hasan 'Abdallah Kamil, executive director of one of Saudi Arabia's largest banks—Al-Barakah Investment and Development Company. He has come to our country to participate in an international seminar organized by the "Al-Biruni House" Soviet-Arabian joint venture within the framework of the celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of the well-known medieval oriental thinker Al-Tirmidhi.

[Stroyev] What do people in Saudi Arabia know about the Soviet Union? What is their attitude to setting up cooperation and contacts?

[Kamil] The changes taking place in the Soviet Union are of interest to people throughout the world today, including in Saudi Arabia. Great, promising prospects have emerged. An unofficial dialogue is already being conducted with various Soviet organizations. This is a beginning which will be continued, and not only in the diplomatic sphere.

The possibility of the USSR's more active participation in the world economy has emerged under the new conditions of perestroyka. And we would like to take advantage of the opportunity to improve your country's ties with the Muslim Arab world and with other countries where we have our own enterprises. We see this as great potential for dialogue and cooperation.

[Stroyev] Prof. Kamil, what has been of greatest interest to you on the Soviet market?

[Kamil] We proceed from the premise that money as such cannot make money. Moreover, usury is prohibited under Islamic laws. We call this "mudabbarah." We can invest funds in certain kinds of economic activity aimed at the good of man. In this case this could be exports or imports, or the setting up of joint companies. In this we are ready to cooperate with various organizations—state and private. The chief thing is that the sides be interested in progress and mutual advantage. For, if there is no demand for the end result, both the producer and the banker will lose out. We must endeavor to understand each other, to find common interests, and to arrive at the golden mean of cooperation. We will engage not in ideas but in specific action which will serve the development of our countries and of the whole world.

[Stroyev] What personal impressions have you formed of your trip to the USSR?

[Kamil] I do not think there is any need to fear the present, still less the future. Of course, not everyone has a full understanding of the meaning and nature of what is happening in the Soviet Union. They argue and talk a great deal about this. But everyone concurs in the opinion that the changes are significant and of a historic nature. This gives us definite confidence in the irreversibility of the process. During my tour of Moscow, Tashkent, and Samarkand I have been able to meet and talk with various people at various levels. And it is a very important fact that they all support perestroyka and want to deepen it. I was also able to see for myself that we, who you might think are so dissimilar, can understand each other and find a common way to resolve problems. I do not think there are grounds for disappointment or misgivings. The USSR is going through a very complex time which demands understanding and endurance on the part of Soviet citizens and their active participation in the transformation of society. And in our talks I appreciated the seriousness with which Soviet people look at their present and future. Therefore I have become a greater optimist than before as regards the prospects for our cooperation.

East Europe

CPSU Congress Conservative Mood Alarms GDR

PM0607091190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent V. Lapskiy: "How the Germans Rate the Debates"]

[Text] Berlin—I do not know where else abroad they are following the upheavals of the 28th CPSU Congress as attentively as they are here in the GDR in both parts of

Berlin. The interest in our perestroyka affairs which recently was very great has now been joined by concern, concern at the suspicions that the peak at the congress and in the country may be conquered by conservative forces and that this will have an adverse effect on the USSR's foreign policy. Many people here were alarmed by the harsh comments on, and interpretation of, the revolutionary processes taking place in the East European countries.

The "new thinking" which has prevailed in our country is already thought to be in doubt. It is recalled that the first serious attacks on Gorbachev's foreign policy occurred at the Central Committee Plenum in February this year. In succeeding months, the independent BERLINER ZEITUNG writes, the divergences became increasingly acute and came to a head just before the party congress when a general stated in a public speech: The so-called successes of Soviet diplomacy have resulted in the USSR's being expelled from the East European countries without a fight.

The present congress in Moscow, DER TAGESSPIEGEL comments, is under the influence of powerful neo-Stalinist forces in the Army, the KGB, and the apparatus of functionaries who have banded together in the attack on Gorbachev and his perestroyka. They blame him for everything—he foisted an excessive disarmament on the Soviet Army, he gazed with indifference at the collapse of the old regimes in East Europe and did not send the Soviet tanks in, and now he is even allowing Germany to unite instead of blocking this process by means of military pressure. These are the devotees of the former Soviet imperial policy whose saber-rattling and violent actions in Europe and other parts of the globe brought the world to the threat of atomic war until it finally wrecked its own country's economy. One can imagine what the Soviet Union will be like if these conservative-Stalinist forces succeed in undermining Gorbachev's course of reforms.

In the opinion of the local press, E.A. Shevardnadze's congress speech was reassuring.

Troops in GDR Receive Savings in Deutschmarks

PM0507144390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Major S. Popov under the rubric "News for the Issue": "Marks for Group of Forces"]

[Text] Senior Ensign N. Varfolomeyev is the first financial worker in the Western Group of Forces to issue convertible currency to servicemen....

As is known, the governments of the USSR and the GDR concluded an agreement on financing the cost of maintaining the Western Group of Forces in the second half of 1990. The first stage in its implementation was the issuing to Soviet servicemen of their savings converted into FRG marks, which began yesterday. Pay and allowances will also be issued in this currency in the very near future (also for the first time).

Major General V. Sklyar, chief of the Western Group of Forces Financial Service, has said that in absolute terms, officers, ensigns, and soldiers will receive approximately the same amount as before.

Since, for understandable reasons, one kind of possessor of convertible currency has recently been arousing not only suspicion but also irritation in our country, it is necessary to add that the possibility of receiving West German marks certainly does not promise Soviet servicemen a "heavenly life." The very first day after the validation of the currency and economic union of the GDR and the FRG the prices of basic foodstuffs in the stores, for example, doubled.

Gysi Greets CPSU Congress on Behalf of PDS

PM0507153190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Greetings message from Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism, under the general heading "Greetings From Foreign Parties": "To the 28th CPSU Congress, Moscow"]

[Text] Dear comrades! The GDR Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Board sends the 28th CPSU Congress cordial greetings and wishes for success in its work.

The course of perestroyka adopted at the previous party congress has not only opened up new prospects for building socialism in the USSR but has also had a profound impact on the course of international development. The new thinking implemented by the CPSU in the foreign policy sphere has promoted the development in the world arena of the process of switching from confrontation to cooperation among different social systems, the attainment of the first specific agreements in the disarmament sphere, and the lessening of the danger of an outbreak of war.

The revolutionary processes in the USSR have not least given decisive impetus to the development of democratization in the GDR as well. It has been possible to break with obsolete, ossified structures of power, although the absorption of the GDR by West German capital began at the same time.

The PDS, as a renewed party of democratic socialism, is struggling for a better Germany which would ensure social protection for human rights, implement a policy of peaceful coexistence among states and peoples, become an organic part of new pan-European security structures, and above all maintain friendly relations of cooperation with the USSR and other countries.

Continuing the traditions of the progressive German workers movement, our party advocates a genuine alternative to the omnipotence of monopolies geared to

profit; the creation of living conditions worthy of people; democracy; peace; and the resolution of mankind's global problems.

We are confident that in this undertaking the CPSU will continue to be our true ally. For our part, we assure you, dear comrades, of our solidary support for further progress down the path of perestroyka.

With comradely greetings,
[Signed] Gregor Gysi, PDS chairman

Gorbachev Congratulates Havel on Election Victory

LD0507141790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jul (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev has conveyed sincere congratulations to Vaclav Havel in connection with his election as president of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, and has wished him successful activity for the benefit of the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

In the telegram, which was distributed here today, the Soviet leader expressed the conviction that "joint efforts to develop our goodneighborly and mutually advantageous cooperation, in the spirit of the declaration on relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, will benefit both countries, serve to increase the potential of friendship, and be a considerable contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and cooperation on the European continent."

Czechoslovakia Army Delegation Visits USSR

PM0307132190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jun 90 Single Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "On a Friendly Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of workers from the educational and cultural organs of the Czechoslovak Army headed by A. Rasek, CSFR deputy minister of national defense for education and culture, was in the Soviet Union 25 through 29 June on the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, received the delegation of workers from the Czechoslovak Army organs of education and culture. Colonel General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, participated in the conversation, which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Conversations were held with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Lieutenant General V.I. Grebenyuk, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, Col. Gen. G.A. Stefanovskiy, and other political workers participated in them. The conversations took place in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere. The head of the delegation addressed generals and officers of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The guests from the CSFR visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political School, addressed the command and teaching personnel, and met with students from the Czechoslovak Army who are studying there.

In Siberian Military District units and military schools, the members of the delegation were familiarized with the personnel's life, everyday conditions, and progress in combat and political training.

The delegation has left for home.

Czechoslovak CP Greets CPSU Congress

PM0407153790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Message from Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to 28th CPSU Congress under the general heading: "Greetings From Foreign Parties"]

[Text] Dear friends! On behalf of the Czechoslovak communists we send cordial, comradely greetings to your congress. We greet you on behalf of a party which has been through difficult ordeals and has not avoided grim chapters in its history, but has done a great deal of good for the people.

We greet you on behalf of a party which has turned from a state party into one of many political organizations in the pluralist system of parliamentary democracy in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

We greet you on behalf of the communists who have withstood the heavy blows, have remained in the party, and believe in its eventual rebirth.

We greet you on behalf of a party which rejects the power monopoly and renounces the desire for a privileged position in society at the expense of other political forces and movements.

We greet you on behalf of a party which did not have sufficient internal forces and courageous leaders to head such welcome and overdue changes in our society.

We greet you on behalf of a party which is nonetheless finding a place in the Czechoslovak political arena, as confirmed by the recent elections to the country's legislative organs.

Dear friends! We wish you the courage to complete the process of perestroyka and democratization of the life of Soviet society. We sense and we know how difficult this path is. The victory of the ideas of democratic socialism and a deeply humane socialist society meets our interests as well.

We wish you wise decisions. They must not be placed in jeopardy. Only the path forward, no matter how difficult it may be, can provide the expected results.

Once again we wish you success and strength for the sake of perestroyka and democracy.

We firmly believe that despite the complexity of the social processes, relations between our parties and peoples will continue to develop.

[Signed] Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee.

Albanian Agrees To Give Refugees Exit Passports

AU0507175590 Moscow International Service in Albanian 1500 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] [Words indistinct] The Hungarian news agency MTI reports that the Albanian authorities have promised that they would give exit passports to the refugees on the territory of the Hungarian Embassy [words indistinct]. Such guarantees, the ADN news agency states, have been given to all Albanians who have taken shelter in foreign embassies.

In the view of Western diplomats, the Albanian authorities are ready to allow these people and others who are dissatisfied with their conditions of life to go abroad, with the intention of reducing social tensions in the country. The TANJUG agency reports that a plenum of the Albanian Workers Party is to take place today or tomorrow. The plenum, TANJUG reports, will gather to approve the decisions for changes in some organs of the state, especially the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the national security services.

Supreme Soviet Group Ends Visit to Yugoslavia

PM0307151990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov: "Parliamentarians Exchange Experience"]

[Text] Belgrade—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee has completed a visit to the SFRY.

The Soviet parliamentarians had meetings and conversations with S. Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Federal Assembly; A. Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council (the country's government); B. Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and members of the SFRY Federal Assembly Federal Chamber Foreign Policy Committee. They had a broad, constructive exchange of opinions on questions of international cooperation in modern-day Europe and the role of parliamentarians in building a "common European home."

The leader of the delegation—A. Dzasokhov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the International Affairs Committee—said in a conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent:

"Our talks in the Federal Assembly and our meetings and conversations with Yugoslav statesmen reaffirmed how much our two socialist, federative powers have in common in their present situation, although each has its own individual features, of course. Far-reaching processes of democratizing society, creating new political structures, restructuring the economy, and improving legislation are under way in both countries. Consequently, it is now hard to overestimate the role our parliaments have to play. This role is growing in lawmaking activity in particular, which is an area where we have something to learn from each other.

"Both our powers are multiethnic, federative states. The current interrepublic, interethnic problems experienced in the Soviet Union and the SFRY coincide in many respects. That is why we consider it to be very useful for the two sides to exchange experience and opinions on the formation of the union republics' sovereignty, their full-blooded development in all spheres, and the coordination [sopodchineniye] of the interests of 'the center' and equal sovereign republics.

"Naturally, foreign policy was also the center of our attention during the meetings and talks. We reached the unanimous opinion that the changes in Eastern Europe open up new possibilities for building a 'common European home.' Parliamentarians can and must make their own weighty contribution to designing its concept."

Polish Party Sends Greetings to CPSU Congress

PM0407143990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[SDRP message to 28th CPSU Congress under the general heading: "Greetings From Foreign Parties"]

[Text] To the 28th CPSU Congress

Esteemed delegates!

On behalf of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP] Main Council we send you cordial greetings and wishes of creative and fruitful work. The decisions made by your forum will have principled significance for the process of the further democratization and perestroyka of social, political, and economic life and for the implementation of the Soviet peoples' aspirations and hopes.

We are convinced that your decisions will strengthen detente and international cooperation and serve to develop good-neighborly contacts between our peoples, filled with respect and mutual understanding, continue the best traditions of mutual relations, and overcome the dramatic legacy of the past.

We believe that the developing partner-like collaboration between our parties, based on the common values of democracy, justice, and social progress, will be an effective support for these relations.

With best wishes

[Signed] Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the SDRP Main Council, and Leszek Miller, general secretary of the SDRP Central Executive Committee.

Bulgarian Socialist Party Greets CPSU Congress

PM0407095190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 90 Second Edition p 6

[Undated Bulgarian Socialist Party message to the 28th CPSU Congress under the general heading: "Greetings From Foreign Parties"]

[Text] To the 28th CPSU Congress, Moscow

Dear comrades! On behalf of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] we convey the most sincere and cordial greetings to the 28th CPSU Congress delegates and all Soviet communists. We are sure that the 28th CPSU Congress will interpret the experience of the transformations of recent years, consolidate all that has been achieved on the path of perestroyka and the renewal of society, and outline the party's prospects and tasks for the upcoming period. We have no doubt that on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee Platform, envisaging a decisive break with the authoritarian bureaucratic system, an orientation toward humane and democratic socialism, an organic combination of plan and market regulation of economic activity, the building of a rule-of-law state, the renewal of the Soviet federation, the creation of proper living conditions for people, and the conduct of a new foreign policy, the party will be able to unite the efforts of the entire people in order to implement revolutionary transformations in society.

In this crucial period, when life is dictating a new vision of socialism, the BSP has also set a course toward radical renewal. Having commenced its transformation into a modern Marxist party, it has assumed a new ideological and political orientation and has set as its immediate goal the building of democratic socialism. The BSP's success at the recent free and democratic parliamentary elections is an expression of the people's confidence, which makes it incumbent on it to complete its own perestroyka and contribute in the most vigorous way to the further democratization and renewal of present-day Bulgarian society.

We express the profound belief that the BSP and the CPSU will continue to strengthen their links and make an active contribution to the development of Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation in accordance with the major changes taking place in the world and the achievements of the age-old friendship between our fraternal peoples.

We wholeheartedly wish the 28th CPSU Congress successful work and new steps forward in perestroyka and the renewal of the party and society for the benefit of all Soviet people and for the purpose of establishing the new thinking and strengthening peace, security, and cooperation among peoples all over the world.

[Signed] The BSP Supreme Council.

West Europe

Shevardnadze, Dutch Counterpart Discuss NATO

PM0507152790 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 28 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Rob Meines dispatch: "Moscow Expects Concessions From NATO"]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Jun—The Soviet Union is expecting statements from the NATO summit in London in early July that will make it easier for it to accept German unification. Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze made this clear yesterday in Moscow to his Netherlands counterpart, Van den Broek.

The tone and the language used at the London summit in the statement on the future security structure of Europe will carry great weight with the Soviet leadership when it assesses "what the NATO membership of a united Germany will really mean for the Soviet Union," Van den Broek said after his talks with Shevardnadze.

By adopting a conciliatory stance the summit can alleviate the political and psychological problems the Soviet Union has in connection with unification. "The leaders have to have something with which they can justify German NATO membership to the people," the Netherlands minister said. In an interview yesterday with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the mouthpiece of the Party of Democratic Socialism, East Germany's former communists, Shevardnadze said that Moscow wants to reach agreement before the end of this year on all aspects of German unity.

Van den Broek said that he expects the final document from the NATO London summit to take the same line as the statement made a few weeks ago by the foreign ministers in Turnberry, Scotland. According to the statement from that meeting, a changing NATO will play its role in the development of a common security structure. The statement explicitly stretched out the "hand of friendship" to Moscow.

Van den Broek added: "If we look at the matter in purely rational terms, we do not need to show any understanding of the Soviet Union's anxieties. German unification does not give rise to any major threat to the Soviet Union—quite the reverse. We must make it completely clear to Moscow that we are not out to achieve a one-sided political advantage."

Asked whether after his talks with Shevardnadze he is more optimistic about reaching a solution of the differences with Moscow over Germany's place in Europe, Van den Broek said an emphatic "yes." "On this point Shevardnadze has an open mind and an obvious political will." Both sides, Van den Broek said, are agreed that the military aspects of German unification can only be dealt with in the broader context of the CFE talks in Vienna. "Germany should not be treated as a special case," Van den Broek said.

The minister, who arrived in Moscow yesterday afternoon, had talks lasting two and a half hours with Shevardnadze and his deputy, Kvitsinskiy, immediate after his arrival. After the two ministers had later attended the signing of a contract between the Netherlands and the Soviet Ministry of Shipping for the salvage of a sunken nuclear submarine in the Barents Sea, Shevardnadze had to hurry off.

Later last night the ministers met again at a dinner hosted by Shevardnadze. This morning Van den Broek talked with Deputy Prime Minister Abalkin, who is responsible for the economic reform program. Van den Broek left for The Hague around lunchtime.

Van den Broek proposed to his Soviet counterpart that the 23 countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact should draft a joint declaration stating both sides' desire to cooperate "to give shape to a durable peace settlement in Europe based on the principles contained in the Helsinki Final Act." This declaration could be made public at the time of the signing of the first CFE agreement in Vienna.

According to the Netherlands minister, the Soviets showed "genuine interest" in Prime Minister Lubbers' proposal made at the Dublin summit for a European energy community, of which the Soviet Union would also be part. The Soviet Union has a great interest in the further exploitation of oil and natural gas. It is estimated that hitherto the Soviet Union has succeeded in finding only 40 to 45 percent of its deposits.

Finally, Van den Broek offered Shevardnadze medical and scientific aid to help combat the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Requests for such aid have been made by Moscow, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Shevardnadze also proposed setting up a mixed Netherlands-Soviet commission of experts to give advice in the field of medium-sized and small businesses.

France's Mitterrand Cited on NATO Issues

LD0507170690 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 5 Jul 90

[by TASS correspondent Dmitriy Voskoboinikov]

[Text] London July 5 TASS—President Francois Mitterrand of France has stressed the need for changing NATO's policy due to the emergence of a new situation in Europe.

Addressing the NATO Council's session, currently under way here, he favoured the continued presence of American troops in Europe and a united Germany's membership in NATO.

He observed, however, that the North Atlantic alliance should stress the "defensive character" of its deterrence strategy and "take into account the interests of all European countries," including East European nations and the USSR.

Mitterrand said that France intends to remain outside NATO's military structure but supports the deterrence strategy as a means to prevent war.

Soviet Hijacker Denied Asylum in Finland

LD0207194190 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Helsinki July 2 TASS—The Finnish Telegraphic Bureau (FIB) reports that Finnish Minister of the Interior Jarmo Rantanen said in a statement today that no political asylum would be granted to Soviet citizen Oleg Kozlov, who hijacked the Soviet Aeroflot aircraft Tu-134 during its flight from Riga to Murmansk and forced the crew to take him to Helsinki International Airport. The decision is final and not to be appealed against, the statement stressed.

However, the decision of the Finnish Ministry of the Interior does not imply that Kozlov will be returned to the Soviet Union. The Finnish Ministry of Justice will now have to decide his destiny. If it declines to extradite Kozlov, he will face court in accordance with Finnish legislation.

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze, Colombia's Londono Exchange Messages

PM0507142190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] In connection with the 55th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Colombia, the two countries' foreign ministers have exchanged congratulatory telegrams.

E.A. Shevardnadze in his message noted with approval the constructiveness of the Soviet Union's relations with Colombia in the international arena, and expressed confidence that multilateral links between our states would develop in an upward direction in the future as well.

In his telegram Colombian Minister J. Londono remarked that this significant date underlined the importance of the friendly links that unite the USSR and Colombia. He expressed sincerest wishes for the further strengthening of relations between the Soviet and Colombian peoples.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Sees Party, State Jobs as Compatible

AU0607091090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jul 90 p 1

[Moscow dispatch by Anastazie Kudrnova: "M. Gorbachev Spoke to LIDOVE NOVINY"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Personalities of Soviet public life who have until recently supported Gorbachev without reservations now claim that, unless he gives up the post of general secretary, he will not be above party politics as president and will remain in isolation together with the conservatives.

I therefore asked Mikhail Gorbachev whether he thinks that it is sustainable for him to continue holding both posts.

"As a matter of principle, we must seek the separation of party and state posts. At present, however, in the transitional period when the soviets are not firm and when power and the party are both undergoing changes, separation would be tantamount to the start of an unnecessary struggle that would be a godsend to those who want to liquidate perestroyka. That is just my personal opinion, however. The decision must be made by the congress."

It is almost certain that the congress will agree with Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

USSR Press Secretary Interviewed on Gorbachev

PM0507174990 London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Interview with Arkadiy Maslennikov, USSR Presidential press secretary, by news presenter Jon Snow on 4 July in Moscow on the Channel 4 "News" program—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] So once again Mr. Gorbachev is at the epicenter of the political storm. I've been talking to his aide and spokesman, Arkadiy Maslennikov. I asked him how the Soviet leader was coping personally with the pressure.

[Maslennikov] Actually, the main problem is that Western media are playing quite funny trick with the public: They create then a certain image, and they're trying to be as good as that image is, and image is wrong. Gorbachev is not a besieged politician who does not know what to do or where to go: He is quite self-confident that his policies...he presents in very forceful way, and it was accepted like that by the majority...absolute majority by the delegates.

[Snow] He may appear less besieged after his report, but you'll accept that in the buildup to this Congress, there were grounds for thinking that he might have to give up the party leadership in order to concentrate on the presidency or that, indeed, the party leadership might be taken away from him.

[Maslennikov] Well, you see, we are developing the same kind of newspapers, television coverage, and radio which is very common in the West, so we are tending to dramatize the situations, sometimes quite unnecessarily. Although, as I repeat, there are quite a lot of problems, but they are quite tackleable...manageable.

[Snow] To an outsider, it is difficult to see how he can reconcile his position in the party—which resists the idea of a market economy—and leader of a country where he fully recognizes the market economy must be introduced.

[Maslennikov] I think you are mixing two questions, so the first, you please ask...address that question to Mrs. Thatcher, and ask her how she combines being leader of Conservative Party and prime minister of Great Britain—or any of your political leader who aspired to be at the helm of the government [sentence as heard].

[Snow] Well, now, you work at Mr. Gorbachev's shoulder, you see him every day: How does he manage the workload?

[Maslennikov] Once upon a time he was exactly asked like this—how you manage—and he said: Mostly, it's my spirit. If I lose the spirit, I'll lose everything.

Kalugin Issues Statement on KGB Activity

90UN2260A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 26, 30 Jun-6 Jul pp 6, 7

[Statement by the former chief of the USSR KGB Foreign Counterintelligence Administration, KGB Major General O. Kalugin, at a conference of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU on 16 June: "The Undisguised KGB"]

[Text] **The former chief of the USSR KGB Administration of Foreign Counterintelligence (1973 through 1980), former first deputy chief of the UKGB [Administration of the Committee for State Security] for Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast (1980 through 1987), now retired to reserves (February 1990), honorable chekist, bearer of 22 government and departmental decorations, KGB Major General O. Kalugin (born in 1934) spoke at a conference of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU on 16 June. We publish his statement—somewhat abridged—at the request of many of our readers.**

I would like to thank the organizational committee of the conference for the opportunity to speak in this auditorium. I will make a very short digression into recent history so you will not have doubts about the purpose of my presence here and so you will not think I have jumped on the bandwagon of the Democratic Platform with some unseemly considerations in view.

In 1979, when I was chief of foreign counterintelligence in the KGB, I interceded on behalf of a certain citizen who had been arrested, a scientist who had been sentenced to seven years on trumped-up charges and was languishing in our camps, and for whom I was morally responsible because his stay in the Soviet Union was associated with my previous activities. At the time, Yevgeniy Primakov also became involved in this issue—incidentally with noble motives—but he stopped at the right time. For your information, this citizen had been sentenced on the trumped-up charge of speculating in antiques. Actually, for many years he had been "worked on" as a CIA spy, but since this had not been confirmed they had decided to get him by hook or by crook, which is generally quite characteristic of my former organization.

In conjunction with this, Comrade Andropov, who was still KGB chairman at that time, posted me to Leningrad believing that I had stirred things up a lot and that I should sit it out in Leningrad until everything settled. However, so I would not take offense, I was made first deputy chief of the UKGB, was given a nomenklatura deputy position in the Leningrad Oblast Soviet, and was made candidate member of the CPSU Leningrad Oblast Committee.

In 1986, having seen enough of what was going on in Leningrad; having familiarized myself with the activities of Romanov, Zaykov, and Solovyev; and being aware how the KGB organs which are called upon to ensure security were, in essence, obscuring many processes underway in the city, I wrote a letter to the CPSU Central Committee in the belief that they would look into it and take appropriate measures.

A commission of the CPSU Central Committee was sent which "failed to find" confirmation of the facts I had outlined. Then, in February 1987, when I was urgently reassigned from Leningrad to Moscow, I sent a letter to Comrade Gorbachev in which I stated my considerations, after 30 years of working in the organs, on the role and place of the KGB in our society. I made a statement to the effect that if we want to seriously engage in perestroyka, we cannot act hand in hand with an organization which has penetrated every pore of our life, an organization which, by the will of the party or with its knowledge, interferes in all affairs of state and public life—the economy, culture, science, sports, and religion. In a word, there is no sphere of life in our country in which the hand or the shadow of the KGB are not present.

I wrote about our country still having (this was in 1987) a pathological liking for maintaining secrecy; about our citizens living in a huge concentration camp guarded by tens of thousands of border guards; and about the personnel of our organs of state security exceeding that of all organs of Europe, America, and Asia (excluding China) combined.

Several years have passed since. By now, the KGB has developed a new image or sorts. Some problems associated with the secrecy regimen and the travel of Soviet citizens abroad have become considerably easier. However, with reference to the new image of the KGB, it is rather cosmetics and applying rouge over the quite flabby face of the old Stalin-Brezhnev school that are at issue. The old foundation, methods, and practices still remain. They include the recruitment of agents in the ranks of political opponents and organizations, the infiltration of their own agents, the discreditation of the activists of movements, the neutralization of organizations as a whole, and their corruption as the ultimate goal.

Of course, all of this is done with the tireless attention of the CPSU, or more precisely under the guidance of its Politburo and individual sectors of the Central Committee which have been conducting such activities all their lives regardless of the change of generations. In the process all of them, from Yezhov to Kryuchkov, have been products of the apparatus; they were and are a part of the system which our current ideological thought has called the command-bureaucratic system. Nothing of the kind! This is a party-police system! Primary party organs are nothing but the donors of tribute for maintaining the party apparatus. The Committee for State Security is the foremost accomplice and the right hand of the supreme leadership of the Central Committee.

For 70 years the party made struggle with international imperialism its slogan. The NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] and the KGB interpreted it in the following manner: fighting foreign special services, hostile emigre communities, Radio Liberty, Trotskyites, Maoists, masons, and representatives of other organizations and social groups depending on the caprices, whims, and literacy of our party leaders.

As you know, by now the party has abandoned many slogans associated with international imperialism and class struggle, and has proclaimed common human values. So, under the circumstances, what is an organization to do which has been concerned with certain projects for decades and has manipulated a tremendous contingent inside the country and abroad? What is it to be concerned with at present? Radio Liberty, which we are inviting here today? The Vatican, to which we have dispatched an ambassador? Counterintelligence? But Mr. Colby, former director of the CIA, is attending meetings in Moscow now and is discussing the issues of interaction of the special services of the USSR and the United States.

Incidentally, I am not at all against having such cooperation. However, I would like to say that this has unavoidably brought about certain differentiation and demoralization inside the apparatus which is not used to thinking and which has been trained to fight all dissent and all opponents of party power.

Under the circumstances, some of the KGB personnel have taken up leftist positions and set themselves apart, although many of them are silent. A still greater segment has gone to the right and has become the pillar of conservative forces in our country, primarily in the party apparatus.

Take a look at current events from the angle of state security. Indeed, KGB organs have joined in working on organized crime. Someplace in Karaganda they, together with the militia, have arrested illegal distillers and confiscated 264 bottles of vodka at the time of arrest. Indeed, chekists have worked against local speculators in foreign wares in Moscow and against prostitution in Leningrad. However, where were the KGB organs at the time of events in Sumgait, Frunze, and Tbilisi? What has been their role in ensuring the security of the state and the security of life of its citizens in the proper meaning of this word? Why have the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] organs and the Army been in the forefront in our country—an unfortunate Army which is forced to fight its own people?

Those who believe that the organs have lost their strength are profoundly mistaken. All of those who "do not want to give up their principles" may rest assured: The organs have fully retained their potential. They are capable of putting their arms to use—their agents, the apparatus of assistants who are available at present in all spheres and echelons of our society, from academy members to militiamen, from the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church to athletes, from military commanders to musicians and literary critics. Given this apparatus, go and try turning our society and our party in the direction which has been discussed within the framework of the Democratic Platform.

At present, the KGB remains the most closed organization in the country despite there being swindlers, extortionists, murderers, smugglers, and criminals of every description—which our society should be aware of—because any elite organization, be it the CPSU Central Committee or the KGB, should be placed on an equal footing with any other organization.

I would also refer to the fact that the Jesuitical approach which is characteristic of our supreme circles is reflected in the activities of the KGB as if in a mirror. Many words have been spoken from the rostrums, and by the leaders of the Committee for State Security at that, to the effect that we keep no files at all on Soviet citizens and that there is no eavesdropping on Soviet citizens! Nonetheless, look at this: The Supreme Soviet is considering the issue of eavesdropping. What eavesdropping? What is at issue? After all, if the KGB leadership is to be believed, there is no eavesdropping!

Let us look at a recent statement by the USSR Procuracy. This is the laughing stock for those who know what it is about! When Comrades Gdlyan, Ivanov, and Koryagina who have sided with them are accused of spreading rumors about the vices and negative actions of the leadership and Gorbachev personally. As was communicated, a review conducted at the Procuracy, the KGB, and the MVD found nothing of the kind.

Esteemed comrades! It is impossible to find anything of the kind because this cannot ever happen! In keeping with the Instruction of the CPSU Central Committee, no law-enforcement organ has a right to keep, collect, or accumulate any negative information on the members of the nomenklatura of the party and soviet organs. This is why any emergence of such information is ruled out. Pardon me, but whence could any materials concerning these or some other persons emerge in the archives of the KGB, the MVD, or the Procuracy?

Recently I visited one of the deputy KGB chairmen; he is also chief of USSR counterintelligence. To be sure, he came to this position at the age of more than 60, having never worked in counterintelligence. However, I think there is still time and he will learn. I warned him that since my statements and considerations were not being brought to the attention of the public, I was going to use other channels. In response, he told me with a polite and likable smile: "Oleg, are you not afraid they will think your head needs to be examined?" Such is the mentality of the present-day leaders who are prepared to spread any lies and discredit anybody, including the people's deputies who do not behave the way some people would like them to and with whom either the top echelon of the party or the KGB apparatus are not happy.

Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov said once that the KGB is the only organization which has almost not been affected by corruption. Indeed, if we look at the extent of bribery and so on, the KGB is a relatively healthy organization. However, I have mentioned that there are as well thieves, murderers, extortionists, and racketeers of a modern variety. However, it is much more frightening that over the last 10 to 12 years the KGB has produced an entire "galaxy" of turncoats and traitors to whom the respective articles of criminal codes would apply in any civilized country, who have betrayed the Motherland, who have defected abroad or been arrested in Moscow for spying for the CIA and other intelligence organs. This did not happen in the previous 50 years of the history of the chekist organs. If this is not demoralization, then what is?

Of course the reality of our society has been reflected in what has happened. However, this is also a reflection of the system of recruitment to the organs based on personal particulars, connections, and phone calls. At present the party apparatus, beginning from the very apex and on down to the middle level, permeates the entire structure of the KGB. The mutual penetration and coalescence of the party apparatus and the KGB are obvious.

Nobody in our country is responsible for the disintegration of the economy, conflicts on interethnic grounds, chaos, or other outrages. The KGB is not responsible for it either.

Moreover, the people prosper who were the direct superiors of traitors and turncoats. By now they have moved up abruptly, have become deputy chairmen and chiefs of counterintelligence and intelligence. This system of mutual guarantees, universal forgiveness, and party kindness still prevails in the KGB, especially in its leadership echelon. After all, they are ours, former party functionaries, how can we offend them?!

I would like to remind you of a line from a song which our founding fathers sang with a lot of enthusiasm, the song about their going to die for Soviet power. Dying for an idea is a wonderful slogan! This is the free choice of a free man. However, we have transformed this slogan from "Dying for an idea" to "Killing for an idea." This is what our society finally turned into, a society which began to exile, press into hard labor, and execute by firing squads millions upon millions of its citizens for ideas. Neither our society nor any other society can be healthy until we proclaim all practices of reprisals for ideas—to say nothing of killing—inhuman.

I propose to depoliticize the KGB organs, subordinate them to the organs of Soviet power; completely reorganize them and reduce them by at least 50 percent; eliminate the system of political surveillance; give up paid informants, especially in the process of political struggle; have the political police not become involved in anything but fighting spies and organizations which preach violence against the constitutional system. I propose to eliminate the illegal practice of eavesdropping, monitoring correspondence, and unannounced invasions of the dwellings of citizens for committing particular actions—incidentally, nobody has said anything about it until now. Finally, to disband structures which are involved in preparing disinformation inside the country and abroad and to eliminate potential detrimentals to the health and life of citizens—the KGB does have such potential.

In summation, I would like to say the following. Empress Catherine II once said: Trust only the people who have the courage to object to you. Unfortunately, our leaders apparently defer more to the brief course than they do to history. I believe that this is their tragedy.

The recent speech by Ligachev at the peasant congress is a reflection of the fact that the 28th congress may go Ligachev's way, and then Mikhail Sergeyevich may find himself isolated. I believe that he is jeopardizing not only his personal future, but also the future of our country by rejecting the hand offered him by the democratic forces.

In essence, this is what I wanted to tell you about my position to which, incidentally, some KGB personnel subscribe.

EDITORIAL NOTE. In our next issue, a response we have received from the USSR KGB to the statement by O. Kalugin will be published in the column "The USSR KGB Communicates and Comments."

Claims Possible 'Fifth Man'

PM0507181990 London ITV Television Network in English 2100 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Interview with former KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin by news anchor Trevor McDonald in Moscow on the ITV "News at Ten" program; no date given—recorded]

[Text] [McDonald] In a park in the shadow of the Kremlin, we talked about his work as head of KGB counterintelligence but also about the British spies, George Blake and Kim Philby.

[Kalugin] Well, had he been alive—and I knew him personally—I think he would support me: I think he would support because he realized while he was still with us in the Soviet Union that things had to be changed, and they didn't go the way he thought they would when he joined the movement and when he started to work for the Soviet Union.

[McDonald] Do you think George Blake has any regrets about what he did, about the way things are going now?

[Kalugin] I do not know, but he called me yesterday on the phone and said that he would like to meet me at supper soon, and when I see him soon I'll find out.

[McDonald] What was the particular interest of Soviet intelligence in Britain?

[Kalugin] Well, Great Britain is the main ally of the United States in NATO and in every other way: It was one of the prime targets of the Soviet intelligence and I think it still remains.

[McDonald] We've also become preoccupied about whether there was a fourth man: What do you say about that?

[Kalugin] Oh, the fifth man...

[McDonald interrupts] Oh, the fifth man?

[Kalugin] I would imagine, yes. Well, I heard about....

[McDonald interrupts] Was there a fifth man?

[Kalugin] I heard about that, but I don't know.

[McDonald] You don't know or you wouldn't say?

[Kalugin] If I do, I wouldn't say, no, no.

[McDonald] Will the KGB have a say about whether Mr. Gorbachev survives or not?

[Kalugin] Oh, yes, certainly yes. The KGB may be very instrumental in the final decisionmaking process, and it may very well play a fateful role in his stay or ouster from power, yeah.

Reportage on Kuzbass Miners Planned Strike

Set To Strike 11 July

LD0507121790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jul (TASS)—Miners of the main Soviet coal mining regions are at present deciding on holding a 24-hour political strike on 11 July.

TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin reports from Kemerovo (western Siberia):

"One can already say that on 11 July the mining collectives of the Kuzbass will halt work," Vyacheslav Golikov, chairman of the Kuzbass Work Collectives Council, stated at a news conference here. It is hard to say firmly how long the strike will continue, but enterprises are tending toward a 24-hour action. The strike will be held directly at enterprises and in forms chosen by work collectives. Certain mine collectives will concentrate on repair or preventive work. This is their affair. Enterprises of other industries which operate continuously will function, but they will dispose of what they produce as they see fit.

The point of the action, said Vyacheslav Golikov, is not to cause damage or loss to Russia. The demands that will be put forward on 11 July are founded on proposals from below. In particular, they mention the need for the government of the country to resign, the conclusion of a new union treaty, the removal of the mandate from deputies elected from public and socio-political organizations, and the depoliticization of the armed forces and the KGB.

Vyacheslav Golikov stressed that the only possible way out of the crisis is through the development of democracy and the market economy, the social protection of the working people, and the legalization of the institution of opposition.

As follows from reports by a TASS correspondent from Kemerovo, the Kuzbass Work Collectives Council is taking measures to prevent any excesses occurring on 11 July. Voluntary workers' patrol teams are being set up and cooperation with the Internal Affairs (MVD) bodies has been organized. In addition, the chairman of the Kuzbass Work Collectives Council reported there is an appeal by the oblast's work collectives to the top leadership of the Soviet Army and Navy not to use force against the strikers.

Donbass regional council strike committees members have decided to hold a 24-hour political strike on 11 July.

The attitude to this decision in mining collectives is not cut and dried. The strike committee of the largest association in the oblast, "Donetskugol," has opposed the strike.

Workers' meetings are being held now at the mines, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper reports. They are discussing whether or not the strike is to take place. Various resolutions are being made. A final decision will be adopted on 8 July at the Regional Council of Strike Committees.

Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress presently taking place in Moscow, and representatives of the coal regions, have appealed to miners "in this difficult time to show prudence, to approach the problems of our life in a considered manner, and to realize that the policy of forcible pressure and ultimatums can lead to the collapse of the economy, negatively effect the course of perestroyka, and lower people's standard of living."

The press today reports on the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] decision to lengthen miners' leave, in accordance with which miners' leave increases by 21 to 22 days to reach 57 working days.

[Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1130 GMT on 5 July, in its "Television News Service" program, broadcasts a one-minute report on the CPSU Congress debate of the miners' strike. The reports adds that "in Karaganda, the miners' trade unions have decided to strike."]

No 'Unanimity' Among Miners

LD0607082490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0440 GMT on 6 July carries a seven-minute report from the Kuzbass by correspondent Vladimir Yuriyev on the decision by miners to strike on 11 July. He begins by reiterating the demands put forward by the miners and stresses the political nature of the strike.

He says that in the view of the miners' working committee, the miners have achieved practically none of the demands made during last years' strikes held on economic grounds.

"However, for justice's sake, I should say that there is not complete unanimity, not complete harmony in the working movement nor in the working committees regarding the demands and regarding the forms of holding the strike, and in particular whether to take part in it," he says.

He says that a sitting of the city working committee ended in Kemerovo yesterday at which, after much discussion and argument, the conclusion was made that miners' collectives themselves should decide whether or not to participate in the strike.

He goes on to talk of the decision by the Raspadskaya mine in Mezhdurechensk "where first of all, by a majority of votes, it was decided not to strike." Then it was decided that on the day of the strike, coal mining work should stop but repair work should be carried out,

and those who do take part in the strike rally are to work on one of their days off later.

Yuriyev points out "that far from everybody supports the political demands" of the strike. In his view, the main reason for the miners' strike is that the chief demands put forward last July, "that is economic demands," have not yet been fulfilled, and he goes on to list these demands.

However, in his view the situation in the Kuzbass "gradually is becoming calmer" due to the "fundamental agreement to many of the demands" reached at the meetings miners have had with Ryzhkov, with his deputy, and with other unnamed members of the government, and he says that overall he was surprised by the sudden decision to strike. Yuriyev notes that the Kuzbass is a kind of test-ground for the implementation of the region's transfer from a planned to a market system.

He stresses the possibility of avoiding a strike if the miners' economic demands are met and if they become the masters of their work. "Then there will be no strike," he says in conclusion.

Railmen Appeal Against Strike

LD0507142290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] At the USSR Ministry of Railways, there has been a meeting of railway workers who are delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress with the heads of the industry. In particular, the situation in railway transport and the problems of its development were discussed. An appeal was adopted by the railway workers to the congress delegates who are miners, with a call for them not to stage the warning strike planned for 11 July which may cause serious losses to the economy and may disrupt the rhythm of work on the remaining main railway lines.

An appeal was also adopted to the country's railway workers.

Soviet Historian Medvedev on Future of USSR

AU0407171990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 30 Jun 90 pp 2, 3

[Interview with Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, by Andrej Kiss; by telephone from Moscow, date not given: "The Center Will Win—Roy Medvedev's Vision About the Extremely Complex Soviet Empire"]

[Excerpts] The pace of change in the Soviet Union has increased recently even compared with the eventful everyday activity of past years. The situation has become so complex that is almost impossible to follow. Therefore, well-known Soviet politicians and public figures express their opinions about the situation. One of the most sought-after figures is Roy Medvedev whom our correspondent called in his apartment in Moscow.

[Kiss] To what extent do you regard as contradictory the political changes currently under way in the Soviet Union? I think of Boris Yeltsin's election as chairman of the RSFSR parliament and the election of the conservative Polozhkov in the post of first secretary of the newly founded Russian Communist Party....

[Medvedev] Polozhkov's election has great importance: It can be interpreted as the reaction of the right-wing conservative forces to the processes currently under way in the Soviet Union. Yeltsin's election was the victory of the left-wing radical forces. As a whole, we are witnessing the polarization of the center at this level. At the same time, if one can believe in the opinion polls, the population is increasingly turning toward the centrists. In other words, several factors are present simultaneously. Simple people's considerations and social and economic causes. It would be difficult to stress any of these causes. One can also see personal competition: between Yeltsin and Gorbachev, and between Yeltsin and Polozhkov. In addition, the situation is also changing because of the rapid deterioration in our economic situation. The mood of the population reflects this. [passage omitted]

[Kiss] Can you imagine the population taking to the streets in Moscow, Leningrad, and other towns in Russia to exercise pressure on the leadership?

[Medvedev] No. In my opinion there will not be mass demonstrations. However, the party organizations could organize meetings and conferences which will have serious effects.

[Kiss] Many people think that the masses are losing patience.

[Medvedev] A foreign observer might see it that way; but believe me, our nation still has enough patience. You know, we are much more patient than the Hungarians.

[Kiss] Is there any real chance of Gorbachev maintaining his power?

[Medvedev] He has a chance of remaining in power, but he also has a chance of leaving. This will be decided at the congress. The pressure that has been exercised on the congress deputies in recent days will probably change a lot of things. [passage omitted]

[Kiss] The Democratic Platform has declared that they will leave the party if the conservatives win....

[Medvedev] The Democratic Platform is only an intellectual stream and their influence is limited to a few tens of thousands of people. They do not represent a real force within the party....

[Kiss] However, they are quite influential!

[Medvedev] Yes, but only in Moscow and Leningrad. Nowhere else. [passage omitted]

[Kiss] His opponents are also blaming Gorbachev for the disintegration of the Soviet Union....

[Medvedev] Ordinary Soviet citizens are concerned neither about the Baltic nor about the Caucasus simply because they think that, no matter what, we will keep these areas, and it is enough to exercise a little pressure and they will stay....

[Kiss] Do you also think that this is enough?

[Medvedev] This is the public mood. In my opinion, every similar effort of independence ends when it is confronted with economic difficulties. Foreign countries do not support them, and nobody helps them within the Soviet Union either. Within six months or a year an opposite tendency will start: back to the Soviet Union. Naturally in the framework of a different alliance. No, the Soviet Union will not disintegrate. [passage omitted]

[Kiss] Is the transition from a one-party dictatorship into a multiparty system a key issue?

[Medvedev] The one-party system in the Soviet Union is a reality that will prevail for a long time. There is one party here, the Communist Party, and this will be so for at least ten years. At the moment no other party—either the Social Democrats or the Christian Democrats—is capable of becoming a mass party. Nationalist parties can emerge in Lithuania and the Ukraine, but not all over the country. The existing nationalist parties are insignificant compared with the size of the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Ethnic Unrest, Popularity of Perestroyka Viewed

90UN2234A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 26, 27 Jun 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Presidential Council member Chingiz Aytmatov by Irina Rishina; place and date not specified: "The Paradoxes of Perestroyka"]

[Text] [Rishina] Chingiz Torekulovich, what do you think—is perestroyka still a popular word in our country?

[Aytmatov] Do you think that popularity alone exhausts the essence of this phenomenon?

As I see it, the paradox of perestroyka at this stage is that as such it has already amounted to a new paradigm in the development of the world. Measured on this scale, it amounts to a phenomenon of universal significance. Prospects which were previously inconceivable are now open to civilization. However, when a man walks into a store which overflows with his embittered citizens rather than consumer necessities, perestroyka shows yet another image of itself, the image of an unparalleled, catastrophic crisis. We should know how to correlate the two.... Our fate in the future hinges on what gets the upper hand in our consciousness, whether we are able to withstand shortages affecting flesh, whether we are able to toil as people do in the highly developed countries of the world. I understand that all of us are living people with human needs of the minute, and every moment appears extremely significant to us. However, human reason should have a certain property of correlating the past, the present, and the future. The message in all I am saying is that we should retain what we have acquired. The romantic period of perestroyka is at an end. By all signs, the 28th congress should be the last test in this sense of whether perestroyka can take a step from romanticism to the practical implementation of ideas. This is the question! Meanwhile, another paradox of perestroyka is found in the fact that at present it is not at all reformist forces that are becoming increasingly more active, but rather those who want everything to remain as it was and, certainly, who want to remain where they are. When there are hollow spaces in the economy, conservatives become heroes of the day: It is easy to cause a storm of applause by emotional criticism. Unfortunately, this is the case not only with the opponents of the idea of renewal itself. The best way to remain in the limelight and enjoy popularity is to set upon a particular leadership figure in some manner. I do not at all believe that a leadership figure is a holy image. For example, I believe that at present our government leaves a lot to be desired, but propriety in the criticism of its activities should be the rule and the criterion of culture. It has now become fashionable to come down on the president with complaints and virtual defamation from both the right and the left. I am not saying that it is constitutionally inadmissible. However, how do the people fail to understand one thing: By doing so, they do not at all facilitate stability or the resolution of problems but rather merely curry favor with a fanatical crowd for a moment.

[Rishina] However, the criticism of Gorbachev is being heard from the lips of his candid supporters, of the people who sincerely admired him. At present, they are asking legitimate questions: If perestroyka is indeed a road toward democracy, a road from glasnost to the freedom of speech and free thinking, then who is the president with given the current polarization of forces in our society? What does he consider to be the main point for himself in the existing extreme situation, and how great is the role of the Presidential Council which is called upon to be a brain trust, an assembly of authorities capable of giving the president truly competent and progressive advice—is it truly like this?

[Aytmatov] Your question is legitimate; you are right: Everything that happens in the country, in our society, should of course affect the president and, primarily, his determination to facilitate a particular process or, on the contrary, stop it. Naturally, the Presidential Council should be aware of its responsibilities in this sense. Of course, ideally we would like the Presidential Council to amount to the embodiment of wisdom, an all-seeing eye of sorts, for it to be above various political currents, battles, and so on. However I think that it is still being formed—not in the organizational sense but exactly in terms of mutual understanding, of the attitude of its members toward the most acute, hot issues of the days. I do not idealize our council or say that all the people on it are wise men. However, we sincerely want the council

to serve the good of perestroyka although, of course, we do understand that sincerity does not yet amount to the truth.

What we are now going through at the crossroads of individual and mass consciousness is one of the facets of perestroyka, one of its pages—rallies, processions, and demonstrations on the one hand; on the other hand, all of us are trying to grasp on our own who we are with on the basis of personal experience and convictions and to support or reject the ideas being foisted on us. This—mass and individual consciousness—was exactly the topic of a meeting held recently at the Catholic Academy of Weingarten by the magazine INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA which was attended by our and German-speaking writers and theologians. I spoke about the issue of mass hypocrisy. Totalitarian regimes are dangerous in that they absolutely level individual consciousness. What remains is only mass, regulated consciousness which brought about mass hypocrisy. It overwhelmed us in everything and everywhere—from day care centers and pioneer detachments to state assemblies—the old Supreme Soviet, to mention just one. Mass hypocrisy poses a tremendous threat because it gradually brings about the degradation of the entire society and the decay of personality. In the final count, perestroyka has already won and won strategically because it has set mass consciousness free.

[Rishina] Chingiz Torekulovich, you have just returned from Osh Oblast. We know that your being there at the time of bloody events was not a matter of chance—you flew there urgently, on purpose, as a member of the Presidential Council in order to help and bring this tragedy to an end. In our last issue, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA staff correspondent A. Ivanov wrote: "Aytmatov knows well Osh Oblast and the people populating this land since long ago. However, this time he was to experience both shock and grief here."

[Aytmatov] ...The picture we found was frightening and monstrous. I am not going to recount details and enumerate facts. It was striking, inhuman cruelty. It drives me to despair—both in and of itself and due to what it denotes: the mechanism of fratricidal strife. The fact that lethal hatred was accumulated in the souls of the people, that they were prepared for merciless, thoughtless actions depresses me more than anything else. Where and in what do we find the roots of the black shoots of this entirely unjustified hatred which did not spare pregnant women, children, or old men who did not know what was going on? It is not the instigators of the massacre who die, not at all. As a rule, they go on fanning the flames of enmity. The innocents are the one who depart this life and suffer. What has happened between the Uzbeks and the Kirghiz may be called Turkic self-genocide. It should be very seriously thought through and grasped by all of us in the Turkestan region. If this opposition is not overcome and the growth of the conflict is not arrested—on the one hand with the connivance, and on the one hand with the actions of extremist conservative forces, especially their corrupt segment, which are clearly hostile to perestroyka and, I would even say, vengeful—then this self-genocide threatens trouble more ominous than Karabakh because in Central Asia not one or two but several such Karabakhs can arise. I have nowhere uttered a single word, not once, about the Armenian-Azeri affairs, understanding how complex, painful, and hard to resolve everything is—feeling for and commiserating with both of them. In this instance I cannot, I dare not be silent.

I might say that my attitude toward the Uzbek people is that of kinship as much as that toward the Kirghiz people. In my childhood I lived in Osh Oblast, this is where my father worked and my mother as well. I remember our Uzbek neighbors to this day. Osh Oblast is the largest and most densely populated in Kirghizia; there are approximately half a million Uzbeks in it. Certainly, a clash that cruel does not come about for no serious reason. Indeed, it is true that the people of Osh live in poverty; that a great number of the unemployed are concentrated there, primarily in Fergana Valley; that the housing problem is scandalous; that water and land are the main commodities in short supply. Moreover, when I examined in depth social issues which are one of the sources of the Osh events, I found out that in, for example, the Fergana Valley the per capita area of land is the smallest in the country.

As I racked my brain during this trip there in Osh over what was to be done, my thoughts turned again to the buried, rejected idea of the diversion of northern rivers. Naturally I am not proposing that it be brought back, but there should be something similar to it, some radical, global measures. In the absence of such measures, the wretched existence of the people will not change radically, and new lands and areas will not be developed because the problem of employment has exacerbated to such a degree—and is still mounting—that it will not be solved even if computerized drip irrigation is implemented which is state-of-the-art in this sphere, all sluices of excessive water consumption are closed, and higher-yield varieties of cotton and other crops are found which should obviously be implemented as soon as possible.

When the people are embittered and are at each other's throats, nationalists exploit this situation by maintaining that only separation and autonomy will rid the people of the endless hardship of life, an insane attempt to isolate one's own nation and to give it priority and exclusive privileges while ignoring the others—this is exactly what happened in Osh Oblast.

If a nation has its own republic, if the main base of an ethnic entity exists, is it permissible to have autonomous structures within other republics?

I believe that at present, now that ethnic self-awareness has become a reality, when all the peoples are striving to sort of sum up their development and look into the future, when the sovereignty of Union republics is turning from nominal to genuine, the existing borders should remain inviolable.

I want to state the following idea: It would be good to hold something along the lines of a Central Asian Helsinki—to recognize the borders of the Union republics to be firm and not subject to any, even minute, changes under any circumstances. As I see it, the parliaments of the republics could ratify agreements on the same day. If this is not done, there will be no end to demands and claims based on nationalist motivation.

Recently I have been concerned about the following issue: What is the relationship between nationalism and the notion of full value of the people? I still think that nationalism de[illegible] ailment and inferiority. What I mean of course [illegible] lgar, hard-core nationalism, so to speak, and no[illegible] as pinned as a label in recent times on any manif[illegible]on of ethnic self-awareness, be it concern for one's native language or other priorit[illegible]ethnic values. The propaganda bias of that time is now coming back to haunt us. I would say that we are going through the epoch of an apocalypse of nationalism. The forces are becoming increasingly aggressive which, while allegedly advocating the interests of the nation, perniciously agitate mass consciousness and render it uncontrollable by exploiting populist attitudes and proceeding from base instincts. Ultimately I interpret this as the thirst for power on the part of those from under whom perestroyka has pulled the rug—to hang on at any price, to acquire a domain, and establish their power justifying it by ethnic motives, autonomy, anything at all.

In this reference I would want to discuss the special role and responsibility of the intelligentsia. Of all people, the intelligentsia should understand how dangerous it is to inflame passions; it should explain to the people that nationalists are the enemies of their nation, their nation above all. The intelligentsia is called upon to be supercautious and super-prudent in the environment of economic, social, and political complications. For example, I believe that now is not the time to stir up memories and come back to the year 1916 when an uprising of the Kirghiz and Uzbek peoples against Tsarism broke out and was bloodily suppressed. At present, some figures try to purposefully recall this. I understand that it is the duty of science to evaluate this, to establish cause and effect linkage, and so on. However, should it be submitted for mass discussions under current circumstances—other times will come, and the level of culture and self-awareness will be different. Everything has its proper time and place.... At present, I would call on everyone to declare a moratorium on ethnic claims.

I said this during my trip and I will repeat it again: Certain people want to shift their troubles to the center. From all sides rebukes are heard—this has become a craze of sorts. Is the center paying attention? What is the center doing? Why is it passive? The center did not bring about ethnic conflicts, confrontation, and bloodshed; the center is not to blame, we are to blame ourselves. I told the people: Be grateful that the center exists and that it ordered troops dispatched to Osh otherwise there would have been 2,000 victims rather than 200....

To my mind, an ethical criterion is essential in resolving inter-ethnic conflicts: The republic on whose territory clashes have occurred bears primary responsibility. In this case, the above applies to the Kirghiz people and makes them duty bound to display breadth and search for a compromise. I told my fellow countrymen: We should assume responsibility because blood was spilled in our republic. This is a case when we should forgive the other side more than we do ourselves.

The plague of nationalism is more contagious than any other disease in a society. Still, I am hopeful that we will overcome the outbreak of an epidemic in Osh. My hopes are not illusory: The Kirghiz and the Uzbeks are two peoples which are very close to each other, as are the Czechs and the Slovaks—for me this is a classical example of the coexistence of two kindred peoples.

I think about how naive we were previously when we believed that a writer should not evade public activities, that this was his path, that he drew his material from such activities, gained knowledge of the epoch, and could affect the course of events himself somehow, in a certain sense. I say "we were naive" because I thought myself that my silent and useless presence at congresses, sessions, and plenums amounted to political activities. When I struck up conversations with foreign writers on this topic and they stressed that they do not want to interfere in political activities, that this is not a priority need for them, that creativity comes first, I was bewildered: Why ever are you afraid of this? Now I understand them and understand myself—previously I was involved in pseudo-activities; they merely took time but did not call for responsibility and did not distract me from literature because it did not drain all that much spiritual strength. At present, I look in bewilderment at my friends, writers as well directors and actors, who have also ceased to engage in professional conversations. When we meet we immediately start with political news. This is why I am happy that I have managed to accomplish a small breakthrough in creativity. My life is such that there is no time left for prose. In winter, I got up at 0500 and worked until 1000. Frankly I am satisfied now: This may be a small piece but it has come about.

[Rishina] In the June issue of ZNAMYA I saw an announcement: A new story by Chingiz Aytmatov will be published in the coming issues. I immediately compared this to what you said in your December interview to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: I am finishing writing, completing three new chapters for the novel "A Day Lasts Longer Than a Century." What I conceived then was not accomplished at the time. I was constrained by the feeling of the hopelessness of my work. This involved, for example, the fate of the teacher Abutalip....

Therefore, is the forthcoming publication in ZNAMYA the implementation, resuscitation of the plan which you smothered? However why a new story then? Or is it an entirely new work?

[Aytmatov] Indeed, I smothered it and I brought it back to life this time. I thought for a long time about how I was going to present this work to my readers. What came out was a story, "a story based on a novel," some kind of a new genre. Having read it from today's point of view some people might say: So what, why did you put down your pen then? Being wrapped up in the political passions of the moment, we do not think hard about what has happened to us. After all, we are entirely different people, people with a different thinking—although there still are many people among us who try to cling to the past and put worn-out banners in the vanguard. Meanwhile thinking, if I may say so, is the quintessence of what amounts to a new cycle in history, a new landmark in the human cognition of self.

The story is called "The White Cloud of Genghis Khan" and is mainly built on a myth, on a historic legend. As is known, this is not the first time I resort to a myth—this is an artistic technique which has proven itself but which I have not exhausted. I interpret the mythical plot in my own manner, transform it after my own fashion, so that an old poetical legend is not merely presented to contemporary readers but so that it is put to use in the philosophical essence of a modern work. In this work, the legend of Genghis Khan is projected into the eternal dilemma of power and personality. Apparently, I should now republish the novel with "the story based on a novel" included.

Apart from historical matter, there is specific, real life of our contemporaries in this story. However, our attention is focused on Abutalip Kuttybayev rather than Yedigey.

[Rishina] I remember that Abutalip was driven to Boranly-Burannyy by the fate of a prisoner of war who, although he had escaped and had subsequently fought among Yugoslav partisans, still could not avoid being treated with suspicion. Finally he was arrested, and soon a message came to the small station that Abutalip was no more....

[Aytmatov] The new work narrates exactly what the background of the sad message was, the completion of his life, and the departure of Abutalip.

[Rishina] You do not have random titles—what is it going to be in the new edition: "A Day Lasts Longer Than a Century," "The Small Station Burannyy," or perhaps "The White Cloud of Genghis Khan"—incidentally, I will note "The White Cloud" and "The White Steamship": perhaps, the color is very important?

[Aytmatov] I know that I have my own circle of readers and I am afraid that the change of titles will puzzle them. However, it was not all that simple with the title as well. At one point I submitted to NOVYY MIR the novel "The Hoop," meaning a shiri, the hoop of the mankurts, which deprived slave men of their memory, and the missile "hoop" by which the two superpowers shielded the globe from the civilizations of other planets in an attempt to secure world domination. The censors of that time turned out to be on top of things, immediately "zeroed in" on this aspect and categorically, militantly stood their ground. I had to give up certain episodes and the title. A new one was given by NOVYY MIR—"A Day Lasts Longer Than a Century." However, it was not deemed agreeable—this time, in the "Molodaya Gvardiya" Publishing House, which insisted on "The Small Station Burannyy." With apologies to my readers, in the new edition I am restoring the NOVYY MIR title "A Day Lasts Longer Than a Century."

3 Arrested for Passing Anti-Gorbachev Leaflets

LD0507130490 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 5 Jul 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports that on 3 July in the Pyatidesyatiletiye Oktyabrya [50th anniversary of October Revolution] underpass in Moscow, three people were detained who are members of the Yedinstvo [Unity] society. They were distributing among the passersby leaflets criticizing Gorbachev's activity in resolving national and economic problems, as well as an appeal to the delegates of the 28th CPSU Congress to save the country from pogroms and disintegration.

Those detained were warned of the illegal nature of their activity, after which they were released.

Peace Committee Urges Support for Gorbachev

PM0307145190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In Support of the USSR President"]

[Text] The Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace has issued a statement supporting the USSR president's democratic policy.

There is now no more important task, the statement points out, than national reconciliation and the consolidation of forces. Its resolution is guaranteed by support for the policy of the country's president who is capable of displaying political wisdom and endurance, taking decisive measures to prevent bloodshed, cooling passions, and defending the country's prestige in the international arena.

'Peace to Oceans' Committee Formed

LD0307140890 Moscow Maritime Service in Russian 0615 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] The inaugural conference of a new public organization has been held in Moscow. Around 200 representatives of the Soviet public—generals, admirals, lawyers, scientists, writers, and journalists—who were invited to the conference gave their unanimous backing to the idea of setting up a Soviet committee for peace, disarmament, and ecological security on the seas and oceans—

abbreviated to the Soviet Committee for Peace to the Oceans [Sovetskiy komitet Mir-Okeanam]—which will have the rights of a full legal person.

Elected chairman was Barabol [name as received], a merited lawyer of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, candidate of judicial sciences, and a retired major-general of justice. The world, he stressed, is tired of the arms race, especially that of naval weapons, the development of which has taken on a menacing character. That is why it is extremely important at present to organize still more profound study and comprehensive discussion, both by the military and by scientists, lawyers, diplomats, and representatives of people's diplomacy, on all the problems connected with the search for ways of averting a further naval arms race.

Agricultural

Measures Adopted To Ensure Efficient Harvest

PM0407101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jul 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "The Country's Life": "Gathering the Whole Harvest"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers, with the broad participation of Union republic agro-industrial committees, has examined questions of guaranteeing harvesting work and has taken expeditious decisions for the radical improvement of the supply of fuel and for increasing the deliveries of spare parts, rolled metal, and other material and technical resources necessary for the harvest to be gathered on time.

The USSR Government has made it incumbent on the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and the republic supply organs to make up for the shortfall in deliveries of gasoline, diesel fuel, and oils for agriculture by 15 July; to ensure the priority release of fuels and lubricants for rural consumers; and to raise responsibility for the sale of allocated stocks of fuel strictly in accordance with their express purpose. A further 950,000 tons of gasoline, 200,000 tons of diesel fuel, and 5,000 tons of diesel oils were allocated from the USSR Council of Ministers reserve for the gathering of the harvest. This will make it possible to increase by 14 percent the previously allotted stocks of gasoline to the countryside for July-September.

During this same period, the industrial ministries and departments must make up for the shortfall in supplies to enterprises in the agro-industrial complex, of tractors, agricultural machinery, spare parts, timber, and other products. The USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building is obliged by 1 August to finish supplying cutting tables for the grain harvesting combines that have been delivered this year so that they can be used in the work. The USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry has been instructed to organize additional production and supply to the countryside of bitumen, asphalt, and furnace fuel.

By carrying out a redistribution among consumers, additional allocations of stocks of rolled metal, pipes, cable products, cement, slate, and other materials were made and the dispatch of necessary machinery and materials to the countryside ahead of schedule is envisaged.

The USSR Government has adopted a decision to send 30,000 trucks with drivers from military units of the USSR Defense Ministry for the removal of the harvest. Furthermore, tires have been provided from reserve stocks for the truck pools of kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms].

A total of 10,000 trucks, 10,000 automobiles, 2,500 buses, and some other vehicles in high demand at enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex are being supplied with the aim of stimulating farms that ensure the sale to the state of grain and seeds from oil-bearing crops over and above contractual obligations.

Apart from this, to encourage kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers who achieve high indicators in the current year in growing and harvesting grain crops, it is envisaged that 10,000 automobiles, 5,000 motorcycles, 100,000 refrigerators, 100,000 television recs, 30,000 sewing machines, and 100,000 washing machines will be sent in the first quarter of 1991 to be offered for sale to them through the consumer cooperative system.

The USSR Ministry of Railways, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the River Fleet, and the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet have been given instructions to provide railcars and ships as a first priority for the loading of grain, fruit and vegetables, and equipment and materials, and to establish daily supervision of the movement of agricultural freight.

The USSR Government has also outlined other operational measures connected with the gathering of the 1990 harvest.

Major Losses Expected

PM0407145590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Dispatch by TASS correspondent A. Dzyublo specially for IZVESTIYA: "Large Harvest, But Is It Advantageous?"]

[Text] There has not been such a rich harvest in the Kuban for a long time. The barley harvest, which is called a full rehearsal for the main—wheat—harvest is now ending. And the barley yield currently exceeds 52 quintals per hectare.

One ought to rejoice for the grain farmers and the government ought to be praised for raising grain purchase prices so as to provide incentives for its production. But clearly, it is becoming a sad tradition that necessary and long-overdue measures and decisions have in practice proved tardy and half-hearted.

More than 1 million tons of barley have currently built up at Kuban farms' threshing floors. There is no rush to sell it to the state in exchange for mixed feed because the price for such feed has not yet been fixed. It is proposed that previous prices be used as a guideline, but even then—like before—such deals will be unprofitable for the farms.

"It is quite probable," Ye. Nazarov, deputy chairman of the kray executive committee, said, "that kolkhozes and sovkhozes will prefer in this situation to feed their livestock pure grain rather than ensuring the requirements of the mixed feed industry. Farms in other parts of the country, which do not grow grain themselves but receive mixed feed from the state, will probably suffer as well. Unbalanced prices could in general deal a severe blow to stockraising. There are also many other absurdities which, for instance, make it unprofitable to produce such high-protein crops as soybeans and peas as well as hybrid corn seeds, the new price for which has not been set either. In short no effect is expected, in practice, from the government decision."

The same problems are currently troubling grain farmers in other parts of the country too. The larger their harvest is, the more they worry. What a harvest it would be in a normal economy! But unfortunately, yet another attempt to decide for peasants just how much their labor is worth in certain sectors while retaining the principles of the planned-distribution economy is producing scant results.

The lack of real rights for real proprietors, the lack of a free market in the means of production, the maintenance of a monopoly in production and the distribution of resources, and the diktat of old and new administrators continue to leave peasants in the position of day laborers. As before, they are dependent not so much on the weather as on officials who try to plan and distribute everything. Once again grain farmers are being tormented by stoppages involving equipment, transportation, and fuel. Once again there is a real threat that a large harvest will result in large losses.

Shortage of Fuel Highlighted

LD0307123590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Commentary by Semen Astakhov]

[Text] Our next item is about the harvest. Farmers in 10 Union republics have begun harvesting grain crops. There are many reports about high grainyields. It would seem this is something to be pleased about. However, our commentator Semen Astakhov is far from optimistically disposed. Why?

[Astakhov] For 10 years our country has not seen a good harvest. We were unlucky with the weather. Either there was a drought or the rains poured down. And now there is a rich grain harvest at least. But how will it be harvested? Many combines are without headers. There are not enough spare parts for repairs and most annoying of all is the fact that combines and trucks have nothing to run on. There isn't enough gasoline or oil. At this busy time the government has adopted an emergency decision to make fundamental improvements to supplies of fuel and other material and technical resources to agriculture. The USSR Council of Ministers has allocated from its stocks almost 1 million extra tonnes of gasoline, 200,000 tons of diesel fuel and 5,000 tons of diesel oil for the harvest.

I was present at a sitting of the all-Union emergency headquarters when Pavel Ivanovich Mostovoy, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], spoke with great alarm of the situation that has developed and the measures aimed at saving the harvest. The speech lasted for one and a half hours. The issue of fuel was raised with particular urgency. Here is just a small excerpt from Comrade Mostovoy's speech:

[Begin Mostovoy recording] An alarming situation has arisen regarding supplies of gasoline for havesting and agricultural work in southern areas of the Ukraine, individual RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] oblasts, Tajikistan, Armenia, and Georgia. The Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry has been instructed to increase deliveries of oil refining in the third quarter by 7 million tonnes agains the volumes previously confirmed by the enterprises of that ministry. We intend to equip the oil refinery enterprises to their full capacity during that period. The matter of supplying the oil refining enterprises with the necessary components for producing gasoline fuels has been resolved. The enterprises' leaders have confirmed the volume of motor fuel production for that period and the Ministry of Railways its transportation.

Taking into account the need to look for additional gasoline resources to cover production and operational requirements, the Council of Ministers has adopted a decision to reduce gasoline supplies for export by 300,000 tons in the third quarter even though this hurts us—there's no other option—and to allocate an extra 350,000 tons from stocks. The measures that have been taken enable us to provide for agriculture's need of gasoline fuels for large-scale agricultural work. [end recording]

[Astakhov] I would like to add that the collective and state farms, farmers and along with them individual journalists began to sound the alarm even in the wintertime. But evidently the politicization of our society's life, the endless sittings and meetings if not strikes, have pushed the problems of agriculture far into the background. It is only now, just before the 28th CPSU

Congress, that the fact that a rich harvest could perish has been remembered. After all, in many fields grain is already falling and the harvest must be saved.

Equipment Problems Hamper Harvesting

PM0507155190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by S. Chekalin and V. Belousov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] A great deal has been said about the food problem. But in what conditions are those who want to and can resolve this problem working? Here is a rather critical reportage from our Kaliningrad correspondent:

[Correspondent] There is a saying: If the lupine is flowering, it is haymaking time. After it has flowered, it is too late.

After the warm rains grass, oats for green feed, and feed wheat have grown as never before. The mechanized teams on the Perelesskiy sovkhoz [state farm] have leased machinery and fuel. Mutual services between them and the sovkhoz management are now settled by check. And without orders and instructions, they are mowing from dawn to dusk.

What characterizes this haymaking season? I would say rationalism. Everything is done in line with common sense. No looking over the shoulder to see what the management will say. Work is proceeding more smoothly than in past years, but there are plenty of problems, the most painful one being the shortage of fuel. Worn-out machinery is literally falling apart. The "Perelesskiy" Sovkhoz is not exactly poor, but without price parity between agricultural output and machinery there simply is no money to renew equipment. There, a mower has again broken down.

[D.K. Moskalenko, truck driver, identified by caption] There is a lot of concern about agriculture, about grain, about feed. But ultimately it is just talk and more talk. Our delegates are debating at the congress, but it is no use, there is no progress. There are no spare parts, there are no machine deliveries, nothing. People are simply left to their own devices. The harvest is excellent this year, the problem is how to bring it in.

[V.S. Gordeyev, combine operator, identified by caption] I do not know what will happen unless we put an end to all those meetings.

[Moskalenko] It is necessary to work, not to talk.

[S.D. Chernetsov, tractor driver, identified by caption] The tractors here are 12 or 13 years old. What kind of situation is this? When will it all end? Let's put an end to the meetings. How much longer is it possible to expect to get something from nothing?

Construction Program Aids Non-Chernozem Farm

PM0307101790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Jun 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by V. Vengrzhnovskiy, I. Grinenko, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] Over the past 30 years the rural population of the Non-Chernozem region of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] has diminished by 50 percent. Only one in five farms is fully staffed. There are many reasons for this and it is impossible to list them all. However, one of the most acute socioeconomic problems in the countryside is the lack of roads.

In Gorkiy Oblast, for instance, of 5,200 populated settlements only 1,600 are connected to the outside world by road. On the other hand, there are population centers like the village of Netrizovo on the Dnepr state farm. Here is a reportage by our correspondent.

[Correspondent] Two years ago this remote farm unit could only be reached by caterpillar tractor, now a proper road is being built. The volume of construction is considerable. This year alone the Smolensk Oblast Agro-Industrial Committee is spending 131 million rubles [R] on road construction. The road network linking villages and farms and running through abandoned hamlets will increase by 948 km. In the first four months of the current year road builders carried out as much work as in the whole of 1989, and the pace of construction is being stepped up.

Take a look at what a wonderful road, with drainage and so forth, has been built to the forsaken village of Gorniy in Kardymovskiy Rayon. [video shows road and drainage ditch] Now it is the housing construction workers' turn. However, it seems that the revival of the village will again fall prey to the one-sided approach to rural construction. Roads have been built, and now there are no construction materials to build houses. There is a shortage of bricks, roof tiles, and interior and exterior decoration materials. Industrial organization of housing construction is lacking.

A major rural housing construction project—the Kardymovskiy ferro-concrete components plant—is incapable of mastering the production of ferro-concrete panels for rural construction because of long delays in the construction of the plant's second stage. [video shows half-finished plant] And instead of a large-scale construction program attention in Smolensk Oblast will be concentrated on the revival of only 52 farms in the oblast.

One of them is the Dnepr sovkhoz. Not so long ago this was a loss-making, backward farm. Only old people remained in the surrounding forsaken villages. New production forces were needed.

A.M. Khotov has worked at the Dnepr for the past 12 years. He comes from the Karachayevo-Cherkessk

Autonomous Oblast. He arrived here following graduation, married, and worked as economist. Three years ago he became farm director.

How come that you, a person from the deep south, have linked your destiny, it seems permanently, with the Non-Chernozem region?

[A.M. Khotov, director Dnepr sovkhoz, identified by caption] After graduating at Stavropol, I wanted to go somewhere new and begin from the beginning. And now that I have become director, now that we have begun to implement this revival program, now that we have built these well-appointed houses in the farm center, [video shows houses] it is virtually impossible to leave.

There are many newcomers from all over the country here, from Osetia, from Bryansk Oblast, from the zone affected by radiation from the Chernobyl accident, and from Moldavia.

[Correspondent] So there is an international collective on the sovkhoz?

[A.M. Khotov] Yes, it so happens that a great many nationalities are working here. However, I believe that this has helped us both to develop and to turn out high-grade work.

Uzbek Farm Seeks Middlemen To Transport Produce

PM0307101990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 1 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by M. Ganiyev and S. Ziyamukhamedov, identified by caption]

[Text] [Newscaster] Today is 1 July. In past years at this time we used to be swamped with reports that a rich harvest was ripening in the south and that agricultural workers were ready to fill the state granaries by their shock labor.

This year many crops in Uzbekistan are promising good yields. The question is: Where and to whom should the harvest which has been grown and which will be gathered in about a month's time be delivered. Mukhtar Ganiyev's report is full of entirely justified fears.

[Correspondent] This is the biggest farm in Dzhizak steppe where all land, water, and machinery has been transferred to leaseholders. [video shows farm identified by caption as "50 Let Oktyabrya" cooperative association in Dustlinskiy Rayon] The leaseholders have formed a cooperative and in just two years the cooperative has been transformed from a loss-making enterprise into one which produces sizable income for both the state and the leaseholders themselves. People have learned to calculate, to save money.

Take a look. They have built a small oil-mill where they produce sesame oil for pharmaceutical purposes. Above-plan wheat is no longer sold to the state, but returned to agricultural workers in the shape of flour. The cooperative accounts are done by computer. The management apparatus has been reduced, albeit slightly. In short, a good example has been set. But frankly speaking, the leasehold system is gaining ground only slowly in Uzbekistan. But that is not the main problem. Locally, and in the republic as a whole, the area sown to cotton has been greatly reduced. The area covered by agricultural workers' vegetable plots and orchards has almost doubled. Leaseholders are working from dawn to dusk in the fields and on their own plots. They are hoping for good income from their vegetable plots. But there are many such plots and peasants are worried.

[S.S. Ergashev, director of the "50 Let Oktyabrya" cooperative association, identified by caption] The main problem faced by our leaseholders is that most of the crops ripen in July and August. The harvest will be abundant. But our farm is basically a cotton-growing farm. We have no storage facilities, refrigerators, or processing units. What we badly need is middlemen, representatives of Siberia and Russia, to sidestep all kind of problems and prevent the crops from perishing or losing condition. Let them come right now, select, and begin to ship out produce. We have no freight cars or refrigeration equipment.

[Correspondent] In short, the leaseholders are again at the mercy of an uncoordinated economic mechanism. They remember how much produce perished last year. And no one has drawn any lessons from this. It seems that agricultural workers will have to cope with the same old problems this year.

Lease System Improves Rostov Farm Efficiency

PM0407142790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 2 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by Nikolay Chebotarev, identified by newscaster]

[Text] [Announcer] The heated debate on how agriculture should be organized continues unabated, although the most sensible method is probably a mixed economy. Wherever people have understood this and do not confine themselves to declarations and arguments, progress is being made. It is interesting to note that on Rostov Oblast sovkhozes [state farms]—the Matveyevo-Kurganskiy Sovkhoz for instance—people have boldly espoused the leasing method. A report by Nikolay Chebotarev is devoted to their results:

[Correspondent] Let us begin with a map of the sovkhoz land. [video shows correspondent pointing to map] Please note that these plots of land, which normally bear the numbers of the teams working on them, bear the names of leaseholder families here. There are more than 20 lease collectives on the sovkhoz now. With few exceptions they are family collectives. In this way the sovkhoz has been divided into family smallholdings comprising a livestock unit, arable land, and a range of agricultural equipment. The livestock units are small.

They are all new, like this one for instance, [video shows small unit] comprising a dairy or a pig unit and nearby the leaseholders' living quarters. Take Vladimir and Lyubov Shtal for instance.

Some 500 hectares of land and a livestock unit with six cows. It can't be easy. You probably have to work a lot harder than before on the sovkhoz, would you not say, Vladimir?

[Shtal] I don't think so. It was much harder before, under the command system. Now I am working on my own, our team is working on its own.

[Correspondent] This setup has been readily adopted at the sovkhoz which has been operating the lease system for three years now. During this period it has changed from a backward farm into a leading, economically stable enterprise. Let me cite just one figure. The sovkhoz and the neighboring "Rassvet" Kolkhoz [collective farm] have the same amount of arable land. But while 800 people work on the kolkhoz, there are less than 300 people in the sovkhoz. Last year the sovkhoz produced 1 million rubles worth more produce. But the point is not just the economic efficiency of the new setup.

[V.S. Butenko, sovkhoz director, identified by caption] The main advantage is that people are treated in a civilized fashion, they are allowed to be themselves, they are what they should be. They are granted a maximum of independence. Why should we delude ourselves today? People must be allowed to be themselves, they must have culture, they must have freedom of thought and freedom of action. They must be allowed to work for themselves rather than for someone else. They must be able to take pleasure in their work.

[Correspondent] And so the sovkhoz has been transformed into an association of lease collectives. Recently this association has been joined by a number of industrial enterprises. A sort of agro-consortium has been formed which has, in the common interest, pooled its financial and material resources.

Allow me to note in conclusion that visits to the sovkhoz from the rayon leadership are becoming fewer and fewer. They are simply superfluous.

Cooperative Movement Set Up on Kirovograd Kolkhoz

PM0507160790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 4 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by G. Klimov and A. Senin, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] Our next report is devoted to the cooperative movement in the countryside. First some statistics: There are 200,000 cooperatives in our country employing 4.5 million people; 40 billion rubles [R] of commodity output—this is the potential of the cooperative movement which was born three years ago. The dynamics of its growth are colossal despite recent efforts to curb it. Our cooperatives—and this is not just the opinion of left-wing economists but government economists as well—may become the basis of denationalization, of broad development of small and medium business in the country, and of the market economy. At the same time the technical and economic difficulties in this sphere are insignificant in comparison with the obstacles in people's attitude which must be overcome. It would be a step forward if people could be made to understand that the prospect is better than taking a step backward.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Leontevich Moshak is one of the best known leaders in Kirovograd Oblast. Until recently he was chairman of the Rodina Kolkhoz [collective farm] in Maloviskovskiy Rayon.

Now an association of cooperatives has been established within the framework of the farm's collective property, and Moshak is heading the association. Fourteen cooperatives have leased the land, livestock units, and machinery. And there is a new section which did not exist before. It is the Efir cooperative which will grow medicinal herbs.

There were no loss-making sections even in the kolkhoz. Returns per kolkhoz member were almost double the rayon average. However, the independent cooperatives are hoping to increase profitability even further.

The people who work on the land and at the livestock units here enjoy great privileges. When they reach retirement age the cooperative association will supplement their pensions. At present they are provided with good housing and good working conditions.

[B.L. Moshak, chairman of cooperative association, identified by caption] No matter how sophisticated we are—we organize space flights and explore the bottom of the ocean—we cannot exist without land, without bread. We are constantly discussing the exodus from the countryside. Continuity between generations, between fathers and sons has been broken. All parents would like to have their children and grandchildren nearby if not in the same house. When these ties are reestablished there will be no need for propaganda either on the part of the state or the party. It will all happen of its own accord provided we create the right conditions. This is my prime concern.

Agricultural Developments for 28 Jun-4 Jul

LD0507000190

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 28 June to 4 July. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

28 June

Harvesting has started in the state enterprises in most of the Ukraine's oblasts. To date, peas and barley have been harvested from nearly a quarter of a million hectares. The average yield exceeds 30 centners from a hectare.

But there are warning signals about harvesting equipment and transport stopping because of shortages of gasoline supplies which have been cut by some of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic oil refineries. [0600]

29 June-1 July

No significant developments reported.

2 July

Collective and state farms of the Altay have fulfilled the half-yearly plan of state orders for supplies of livestock produce. However, the further state of affairs in the farms of the kray is giving rise to serious concern. In Kulanda and Rubtsovsk-Aleyskiy steppe, where there is large-scale livestock breeding, a severe drought has set in. There have been practically no rains here since spring. Twenty agricultural rayons have been affected. The kray executive committee, the agro-industrial union, and the rayon soviet of people's deputies are taking measures to lessen as far as possible the consequences of the drought. [0100]

3 July

Southern Kazakhstan is engaged in gathering in the grain harvest. Agricultural workers of Alma-Ata Oblast are to gather in grain crops in the area of almost half a million hectares. [1500]

4 July

No significant developments reported.

Military

'Radical Renewal' of Armed Forces Urged

LD0507184590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newcast]

[Text] Our Army is one of the problems that worries society today. Perestroyka has made us take a new look at the role of the Army. We have to agree that hitherto the Army has often been used as a large and organized team for the emergency elimination of the consequences of ill-thought-out decisions and irresponsibility in the economy and the social sphere; and at times it has been used as a freely available labor force. One of the main tasks now, therefore, is the radical renewal of the Armed Forces. Our country needs a strong Army and Navy capable of ensuring the reliable defense of the homeland. And so Colonel General Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, answers our correspondent's questions:

[Begin recording] [Krivosheyev] The main purpose of our state's military reform and the reform of the Armed Forces is to ensure the country's security, and if necessary to repel aggression with a relatively small number of Armed Forces and minimum expenditure by the state on the Armed Forces.

[G. Sedov, interviewer—identified from screen caption] In this connection another question arises about the fact that there is going to be a reduction in certain types of the Armed Forces—and we do have information about this—and lengths of service; let's just deal with these issues for the moment.

[Krivosheyev] The elimination of Strategic Missile Troops and anti-aircraft defence troops—as some people are raising this question—is not envisaged.

[Sedov] Is not envisaged?

[Krivosheyev] Is not envisaged.

[Sedov] But what about reducing the number of military academies and appointments held by generals?

[Krivosheyev] In connection with the fact that the military reform envisages a reduction in the management apparatus, in connection with this a certain number of generals' and admirals' appointments will be reduced. At the same time it is not envisaged that military academies will be reduced at this stage, although the number of students in the academies will be reduced.

[Sedov] But when will we and especially when will you, so to speak, the servicemen, feel this reform; when will it be changed from something on paper into something in practice?

[Krivosheyev] The decision has already been made by the government to change service in the Navy from three years to two years. And we have even gone to the government and the government has agreed to hold an experiment from 1991 on contract service.

[Sedov] You are referring to the Navy?

[Krivosheyev] The Navy—we are going to carry out the experiment in the Navy.

[Sedov] With the rights applicable to extended service?

[Krivosheyev] With extended service rights, that is to say he will serve and will receive money for this service; on the whole we are planning on up to 350 rubles [R].

[Sedov] For a seaman?

[Krivosheyev] A rating, a seaman, will receive it in the Navy. Many people ask about reducing the length of service not only in the Navy but overall, the length of service of everyone, soldiers, sergeants, seamen, petty officers. I have to say that we are working—we have virtually completed the work already—on switching to a service of 18 months' duration.

[Sedov] I think you have given us some very interesting information. Thank you.

[Krivosheyev] All the best to you. [end recording]

Reader Answered on Role of Other Parties in Army

PM0507153590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Lieutenant General Ye. Popov, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Party Organizational Work Directorate, under the rubric "Briefing for Readers": "Armed Forces and Multiparty System" —first paragraph is reader's question]

[Text] "We are entering the epoch of a multiparty system. I know from the newspapers that the members of certain new parties like the Social Democratic Party include servicemen. So, could organizations of other parties appear soon in the Armed Forces? Or maybe they already exist? What does the Main Political Directorate think about this?
[Signed] Captain N. Kalitnikovskiy, Moscow."

I consider it somewhat premature to put the question like this. There are no organizations of other parties in the Army and Navy. At least, the Main Political Directorate does not know of any. As for the fact that individual servicemen have gone over to or joined some other parties, strictly speaking that is their personal business.

As regards the Army and Navy as a whole, a Law on Parties is needed before we open up the way into them for other parties. All this is not so simple. Particularly as the positions of the new parties which are emerging are very different. And they pursue different ends. Which ones? We must seriously investigate this too.

A clear-cut legal basis is needed. When it appears, then obviously it will be possible to speak of other parties and their work in the Army and Navy. In any case one thing, in my opinion, is perfectly clear: The parties, whatever they may be, must defend the country's security interests just as the CPSU does today.

Baltic Republics

Yeltsin To Visit Vilnius 'Next Week'

LD0507213990 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] It is expected that the chairmen of the supreme councils of the three Baltic republics will meet this weekend in Vilnius during the National Song Festival.

According to unofficial information, the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, Boris Yeltsin, will pay a visit to Vilnius next week.

Lithuania Views Preparations for USSR Talks

PM0507155390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "At Session of Parliament"]

[Text] Vilnius, 4 Jul—At a plenary sitting of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session deputies have begun discussing the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet draft resolution "On Preparations for Intergovernmental Talks With the USSR." The document notes that to prepare for the dialogue with the USSR leadership a commission on political, legal, and diplomatic questions is being created which is to prepare the draft principles of mutual relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR and present it to the Supreme Soviet.

The draft resolution points out that the procedure and content of the preparations for the talks with the USSR must be coordinated with the Latvian and Estonian Republics. The document was not adopted because the sitting lacked a quorum.

Lithuanian 5 Jul Supreme Council Session Viewed

LD0507202990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania continued its work today.

It discussed a draft resolution on the preparations for inter-state negotiations with the Soviet Union. The resolution was adopted.

Deputy Gediminas Vagnorius submitted a draft law on the state enterprises of the Lithuanian Republic. Debates took place. The deputies approved the draft law and instructed the economic commission, taking into account their proposals, to prepare the final version of this law for the second reading.

Deputy Vytautas Kvietkauskas submitted a draft resolution on the defense of the interests of the physically handicapped in the republic. The resolution was adopted.

The commission for health service and social affairs was instructed to draw up a law defending the interests and rights of the handicapped.

A draft resolution on the amendment of the procedure in paying grants to mothers looking after small children was presented by Deputy Albertas Simenas. After brief debates the resolution was adopted.

The session then debated a draft law on state prices, which was presented by Deputy Kestutis Glaveckas. Deputy Albertas Simenas submitted a draft law on the length of annual holidays of the workers and employees. The budget commission will submit its conclusions about this draft law.

Issue of Visas to Lithuania Remains Unsolved

LD0407231690 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Is political and diplomatic blockade being lifted? We asked this question at the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry. The head of the passport and visa department, Sidlauskas, informed that officially the problem of the visits by foreigners to Lithuania has not been solved because all Moscow officials able to solve this issue are taking part in the CPSU Congress in Moscow.

But, according to unofficial information, it is much easier to obtain visas to visit Lithuania.

Monuments to Communists Defaced in Kaunas

PM2706091190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent S. Bykhun report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Vandals and Their 'Godfathers'"]

[Text] Kaunas—"Such arbitrariness and barbarity cannot be justified"—this was how Mayor V. Adamonis of Kaunas assessed an act of vandalism committed in the city by a group of young people.

...Armed with crowbars and ropes, guys representing the "Young Lithuania" organization first overturned the monument to F. Dzerzhinskiy and then made their way to the monument to the four Lithuanian communards K. Pozhelye, Yu. Greyfenbergeris, K. Gedris, and I. Chernas—party members of the revolutionary underground who were shot by the Lithuanian republic's bourgeois government in 1926. They did not succeed in getting the better of the monument. The vandals then poured red paint over the monument and threw stones at it. After this, the infuriated mob toppled the monument to V. Kapsukas, one of the founders of the Lithuanian Communist Party and president of Lithuania's first revolutionary worker-peasant government.

The outrage did not leave many inhabitants of Kaunas indifferent, including the mayor. But when he voiced his opinion in public, he received telephone calls literally the following day threatening him with reprisals, and he was

sent two official documents—from the "League of Lithuanian Workers" and "Young Lithuania"—demanding that these monuments be removed before 15 June.

But the mayor is only the mayor, and not everything depends on him. A municipal government [samoupravleniye] session decided to put the monuments to V. Kapsukas and F. Dzerzhinskiy in the City Museum depository.

Thus, the outrage was legitimized.

Law on Vilnius University Autonomy Passed

LD2606201790 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 26 Jun 90

[By ELTA-TASS correspondent Rita Grumadaite]

[Text] Vilnius June 26 TASS—The University of Vilnius, one of the oldest in East Europe, has regained its rights, lost 50 years ago.

The Lithuanian parliament passed the law granting autonomy to the university. Its territory and building have become inviolable. Law-enforcement bodies can perform actions here only with the permission of the republican parliament.

The university is also responsible for organisational and financial issues and for the development of science and education.

The university, that has celebrated its 411th birthday, has always been remarkable for its traditions. Prominent European scientists worked here. After Lithuanian became part of the Soviet Union in 1940, the Vilnius University was reorganised the pattern of Soviet higher education institutions to become unified and featureless.

"Next year, we are planning to change education principles completely," University Pro-Rector Professor Rolandas Pavilionis said. "After young people pass entrance exams, they will receive a three-year basic education. Then they will have to pass exams again to continue their education and to specialise in the chosen field, to be more exact."

The university is establishing contacts with higher schools in France, West Germany and Italy and plans to exchange specialists, probationers and students. This summer, a group of Lithuanian students will spend their vacation in France.

Lithuania Publishes Economic Magazine

LD0507195690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The first issue of the English-language magazine "Economist of Lithuania" has been published. This 80-page publication acquaints the readers with Lithuania's economic science, its theory and practice, the opportunities and prospects of our country's economy, international trade relations, products offered for export, and services.

The act on the restoration of the independent Lithuanian state, the appeals of the Supreme Council to the peoples of the world, the governments of the democratic states, an interview with Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene, and other information about Lithuania today are published in the magazine. Twenty-two pages carry color advertisements for Lithuanian firms. In the future it is intended to publish foreign advertisements also.

The editor of the magazine is Viktoras Zeimantas. Its publisher is the editorial office of the magazine LIAUDIES UKIS [National Economy]. This year the publishers will put out a similar magazine in the Russian language NARODNOYE KHOZYAYSTVO LITVY. It will be aimed at the development of direct economic relations with the USSR and other eastern states.

1,000 People Attend Tallinn Anti-Fascist Meeting

LD0507190290 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Tallinn July 5 TASS—Some 1,000 people gathered today at the city hall to hold a meeting "against the revival of Fascism in Estonia". It was prompted by the "Rally of Fighters for Estonia's Freedom" which was scheduled between July 7-8 in the town of Tori, but was called off.

Speakers at the meeting condemned "new fuhrers and neonazis", the Estonian government and parliament.

Participants in the meeting adopted a resolution and a telegram to the 28th Soviet Communist Party Congress.

Cancellation of Estonian Veterans Rally Reported

PM0507201190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed "Stop Press" Report]

[Text] In Estonia, a rally of participants in the "liberation struggle" has been cancelled. When making this announcement, the organizer of the meeting—the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments—said that the decision was due to a desire not to complicate the sociopolitical situation in Estonia.

E. Savisaar, the chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic government, expressed satisfaction at this report.

Estonia Protests Against Soviet Troop Movements

AU0507154790 Paris AFP in English 1517 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 5 (AFP)—The Estonian government protested on Thursday against Soviet troop movements in the past few days in southern Estonia, journalists at the official Estonian news agency said by telephone.

A column of 28 armoured vehicles and 15 lorries carrying troops crossed the Estonian frontier on Wednesday and headed towards the small village of Tori in the west central region of the republic where former soldiers had been due to meet on July 7 and 8, the journalists said.

The assembly was cancelled early Thursday by the organisers, the Heritage Society, which feared that there might be unrest and provocation.

Soviet media, and particularly the official TASS news agency, had made several references to the meeting which they described as a "reunion of Nazis".

The Estonian weekly INDEPENDENT, close to officials in Tallinn, said that on Thursday the government had held an extraordinary meeting on the matter, and had specified in its protest that "the representatives of the (Soviet) Army had not consulted the Estonian government".

Sillari Views Preparations for CPSU Congress

90UN2155A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 5 Jun 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Enn-Arno Sillari, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, conducted by N. Kuznetsova; date and place not given: "'The Course of Preparation for the 28th Congress Reflects the Situation in the Party and the Country...'"]

[Text] [Kuznetsova] Enn Augustovich, it is known that you recently returned from Moscow where, as a member of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for Preparation for the 28th congress, you participated in the work of the problem-solving group on completion of the draft new CPSU Rules. What are your impressions? At what stage is the work on the draft rules? What difficulties are arising?

[Sillari] I have, indeed, only just returned. And I will be leaving again. Little time before the congress remains. But the work that needs to be done is very complex. The problem-solving group has to examine the draft new rules with regard now for the proposals and observations received from the localities. And there are many of them—1,430—although many of the proposals are repetitious, of course.

But it is not simply a matter of the number of proposals. And altogether not so much a matter of this even.... It is a question of the approach and political standpoints.... Among many communists today they vary. The role of the party and its place in the political system of society are understood variously. The party's goals at the current stage and its attitude, say, toward the problems of the present day, problems of statehood... are conceived of variously to a large extent. That is, a demarcation is occurring on the most important political questions. And whoever believes that it is only with us in Estonia that this struggle is underway around the party and within it is profoundly mistaken. Passions are seething even more strongly in the country, I would say. And the most radical opinions are being expressed, up to and including a change of name and the self-disbandment of the party even with the creation of a new political organization on its basis. Look at many newspapers and the numerous "discussion sheets," opinions are literally colliding there.... In fact, circumstances are such that in one party there are now people who adhere to diametrically opposite views.

The mere fact of the appearance in the party of 19 different program documents for the 28th congress attests to the intensity of the political struggle. And the arguments in our problem-solving group are merely a reflection of the confrontation of positions which exists in the party.... The secretary of the party committee of Moscow University, for example, is arguing with the secretary of the Grodno Gorkom [city party committee], and the secretary of the party committee of the Kama Truck Plant, with the first secretary of the Tashkent Obkom [oblast party committee]....

About what? About the principle of democratic centralism, for example.... How should it be reflected in the party rules? The party organization of Moscow University, say, has proposed its own draft rules (they were adopted at a party conference of the university this May), and its secretary, I. Melnikov, ardently defended the provisions of this draft in the problem-solving group. It proposes, inter alia, regarding as the main organizational principle of party activity a combination of the independence of the primary party organizations and the communists and democratism with conscious discipline and unity of action. There were other viewpoints also, the basis of which also was recognition of the need to afford democracy in the party scope. However, opposite views are being expressed also—demands for the strictest centralism. Of course, coordination of efforts is needed, yet others said, if there is to be an organization. But to what extent is centralism necessary? And, in fact, if we are speaking of a revival of the creative spirit in the party and the need for the initiative of the primary party organizations and individual communists, is strict diktat from above, the diktat of like-mindedness, necessary or possible?

The debate was very keen, and will continue, of course, over membership dues. Some members of the group described how, following publication of the draft rules in the press, many communists in different regions of the country began to hand in their party cards. People were

incensed by the fact that the proposals coming from the localities, apropos membership dues included, had not been heeded.

What is the main difficulty? The rules should proceed from the program principles and be based thereon. And what are these program principles? The CPSU Central Committee Platform is now being reworked. And it is not known at which stage this work is currently and what kind of draft platform we will see as a result. There are, in addition, as I have said, other drafts also.... I believe that mutual understanding should first of all been found on the main political issues. Only then may we embark on a comprehension of the party's organizational principles, which should, after all, contribute to the realization of its political program principles. This also was a topic of discussion in the problem-solving group.

Altogether, it should be said, the very course of the preparations for the congress and, specifically, the work of the commission and its problem-solving groups show very graphically how great is the difference in the situation in different regions of the country. The first secretary of the Tashkent Obkom, for instance, declared plainly that questions of a decline in the party's authority were not affecting them and that problems of a multiparty situation did not worry them. Their proposals were such as to indicate that the party was still operating under the former conditions, in possession of a complete monopoly of power.... And they are not as yet noticing what is being done in the majority of regions of the country and which, possibly, will soon come to them also. Not noticing for the time being, perhaps....

I also heard that some places locally are expressing direct accusations against the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and some of its leaders in connection with the events in East Europe: They let them happen, failed to make the appropriate evaluation.... Obviously, there are people, and many of them, who still believe that the processes occurring in other states should, as before, be controlled from Moscow, from the CPSU Central Committee or, if worse comes to worst, from the Supreme Soviet.

In a word, the preparations for the congress are proceeding in a complex and contradictory fashion, in acute clashes of opinions, and in confrontation. And this reflects, I wish to emphasize this one more time, the situation throughout the party and the country. The party is truly experiencing a very complex period. And these are not just words. But the upcoming congress should change and determine a great deal and dot all the "i's." It is on this that what is most important largely depends: whether we will be able to preserve the party, a party which can play an appreciable part in society and continue to lead perestroyka.

[Kuznetsova] It is known that a CPSU Central Committee decision on the Estonian Communist Party was adopted recently. Reports of this have already appeared in the Estonian press. Could you comment on this document?

[Sillari] Yes, such a decision has been adopted. It expresses serious criticism of us. But I, as first secretary, as a communist who understands the situation in the republic and the situation in the Estonian Communist Party itself, can agree with it in far from everything. The main question, of course, is the Estonian Communist Party's attitude toward the problem of Estonia's independence.... We are sharply criticized primarily on these grounds. What can be said here? The Estonian Communist Party Program adopted by the 20th congress observes that the Estonian Communist Party supports the people's aspiration to independence. How could it be otherwise? Could a party, if it wishes to be with the people, wishes to be supported by them, could this party go against the wishes of the people? Would it in this case retain their trust and their respect? Simply put, would Estonians remain in a party which fails to correspond to their interests? Going against the will of the people, against their aspirations would spell the end for the party. However, we do not tire of showing and persuading people that the creation of conditions—political, social, economic—is essential for the acquisition of independence. And these conditions are not created in a day. This is a long, arduous process demanding painstaking work and lengthy negotiations. I believe that this situation has not been entirely understood.

And one further important point. Wittingly or unwittingly, the CPSU Central Committee is by its decision supporting the creation in Estonia of a party without Estonians. But the creation of a party on a national basis is, I am convinced, a hopeless path. This goes against Lenin, against common sense.... After all, the most important thing in this most difficult period which we are experiencing is to preserve a party uniting the likeminded of different nationalities. This is its strength and significance. This is the feature which distinguishes it most from various national movements.

I have to agree with those who condemn the intolerance which is emerging currently between the two close political groupings. This is truly weakening the party, weakening forces of the left in Estonia altogether.

I have to mention something else also. I was amazed that the decision of the CPSU Central Committee evaluating the republic Communist Party and examining this action or the other thereof was adopted without the participation of representatives of this republic. More, there was no discussion of this issue or comparison of opinions, no debate at all.

[Kuznetsova] That is, you wish to say that this is not Gorbachev's line?

[Sillari] I believe not....

Estonian Supreme Soviet Views 'Triarchy'

90UN2149A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 29 May 90 pp 1-2

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Nelli Kuznetsova from Toompea in Tallinn, Estonia: "What Is This—a Triarchy?"]

[Text] Perhaps from the very first minute of the regular session of the Supreme Soviet which began yesterday it was as though the shadow of the major events of the past week hung over the hall: the congress of Estonia, the congress of the People's Front, and the Congress of People's Deputies in Kokhtla-Yarve. And although the speaker explained to the deputies that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, whose next session would be at the beginning of next week, would take responsibility for evaluating these events, verbal exchanges, questions, and remarks broke out in the hall. The majority of deputies thought that the Supreme Soviet could not ignore these events, it must at least know their meaning and goal. Ultimately it was decided to listen to the information about two events—the session of the congress of Estonia and the congress in Kokhtla-Yarva.

At the suggestion of M. Titma it was decided not to submit a report about the congress of the People's Front since, as M. Titma put it, in the first two cases one can speak about a direct contention for the power of the Supreme Soviet, and as concerns the latter, this is simply another measure from one of the movements in Estonia.

R. Tamme reported on the session of the Congress of Deputies. Then his statement was augmented by I. Khallaste. It turns out that the congress, which had previously declared itself to be a representative organ and defender of the interests of the citizens of Estonia, was now claiming legislative functions. It turns out that the congress was also dissatisfied with the state of cooperation with the Supreme Soviet and especially the government. Pastor I. Khallaste stated outright that it is not developing the way it should, that is, obviously, the way it was expected to by the leaders of the congress and citizens' committee. This was why, Pastor I. Khallaste continued, the congress suggested that the Committee of Estonia develop the laws that are necessary to restore the legitimate government.

One must say that the deputies listened to his report very attentively, although the silence was immediately broken by a question from I. Pokhla: Why is it that for two years now we have had this fear of calling things by their real name? First the Communist Party suffered from this and now the Supreme Soviet. And yet we speaking about a diarchy or even a triarchy. So does legal procedure exist in the republic? The situation that has arisen is strongly reminiscent of usurpation of power and we are all familiar with similar examples from history. His view was supported by E. Leisson, who defined the actions of the congress and its leaders as an ambitious aspiration to a monopoly on power.

How can one not recall here the first days of the work of the Supreme Soviet and the hasty declaration it adopted concerning cooperation with the congress... Then certain deputies became very alarmed by this course of events. It turns out, they said, that the Supreme Soviet has decided to move to free up a place on the bench for congress. But in so doing the Supreme Soviet itself could be pushed off the bench, could it not? Now the people who suggested the declaration have become uneasy. It turns out that the congress really did intend to "move" the Supreme Soviet. An old injunction to children immediately comes to mind: "Do not come too close, I am a tiger, not a pussy cat." But to be serious, is this not a lesson for the Supreme Soviet? It is no accident that having heard both reports—the one on the congress and the one on the Congress of People's Deputies in Kokhtla-Yarve—A. Payu said bitterly: Where is our sense of a mission, colleagues? After all, we were commissioned to deal with Estonia's serious problems here and to solve them together.

Later that same A. Payu, during the break between sessions, asked V. Lebedev at a kind of spontaneous press conference in the White Hall: What are you, a deputy of the republic Supreme Soviet or the head of the Interregional Council? If both of us are members of this Supreme Soviet we should sit together, next to one another, and not as we are now, facing one another. Obviously, he had in mind not simply the space in the hall that separated the Estonian deputies who asked questions and the leaders of the new Interregional Council who answered them, but something more...

V. Lebedev, S. Petinov, V. Malkovskiy, and other participants and organizers of the congress of Kokhtla-Yarve emphasized that they had by no means created an alternative organ of power, although it does not reject legislative initiative. We are not trying to take over power, emphasized V. Lebedev, we recognize the Supreme Soviet and we are continuing to participate in its work. At the same time, he noted, there is a crucial need to protect the rights of the voters. V. Lebedev also emphasized the economic function of the Interregional Council. According to his idea, now the government is not doing enough to really improve the state of affairs and perhaps the council will do better. At the same time he retains the right to suspend laws.

And so, what is this—a triarchy? An unenviable situation... Recently a reader from Kallaste, a radio engineer V. Krivoshey, asked me as a parliamentary correspondent: Who has the power in Estonia now, anyway? The republic Supreme Soviet makes one hasty decision after another and the president of the USSR revokes them. Under which laws are we to live?

This is what we would all like to ask our legislators and public figures—under which laws are we to live? And in general can there be a normal life if in the republic there are three organs that are essentially claiming power? As T. Kallas said, one does not even want to think about this. But we must think about it. Although, frankly, it is

awkward for the people. Both those who are living in the republic and those who live outside it, probably, not only with hope but also with a certain amount of fear are observing our "provincial games," which entail a large and serious violation of the balance not only in the republic but also in the country and perhaps even beyond it.

And there is another idea which one cannot get rid of: Did these extremes not appear because there are not enough centrists in the parliament itself, because they are constantly breaking down into factions and sharply contradicting one another? Because frequently not enough people are concerned about finding a reasonable compromise and reaching a consensus which would satisfy the representatives of various currents, if only with respect to fundamental issues. And the main thing—it would seem that there is not much concern about this in the People's Front, which has now become essentially the "ruling party," the parliamentary majority. And after all, having placed their representatives in almost all of the leading posts in the Supreme Soviet, it has essentially taken all the responsibility on itself, leaving the others on the sidelines. And what has happened?

The Supreme Soviet Presidium is to give its evaluation of the existing situation on Thursday. Obviously, certain measures should follow. Let us wait and see...

But it has already been said many times that for every action there is a counteraction. I should like very much to hope that these will be intelligent and weighed actions which will not evoke another counteraction. From either side...

Latvian Party's Rubiks Voices Support for CPSU

LD0507113590 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 5 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—A delegation of the Latvian Communist Party attending the 28th congress of the Soviet Communist Party generally supports organisational and ideological unity with the Soviet Communist Party.

The Latvian communists subscribe to the platform of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee circulated before the congress, which was later transformed into the congress's political statement. Alfreds Rubiks, the Latvian Communist Party chief, stated this at a news conference today. He said that 41 delegates were elected to the 28th party congress from the Latvian Communist Party, and that all of them are participating.

Rubiks dwelt at length on the situation in the Latvian Communist Party after a number of communists split from the party at its 25th congress three months ago. Now they are trying to form an independent Communist Party.

Early this year the Latvian Communist Party had a membership of 176,500, the Latvian Communist Party chief said. By the time of the second part of the 25th congress of the Latvian Communist Party, six weeks after the split, it had a membership of 162,000.

Another 30,000 communists remained on the party register and have not stated their intention to quit the Latvian Communist Party, but they do not participate in the work of their primary organisations and do not pay membership dues. He said these communists will determine their attitude to the party after the conclusion of the 28th CPSU Congress and of the final meeting of the 25th congress of the Latvian Communist Party, and when programme documents of the CPSU and the Latvian Communist Party are adopted.

Rubiks [words indistinct] that the Latvian Communist Party remains a multi-ethnic party. At the same time, he noted that the "independent Communist Party of Latvia," which split from the Latvian Communist Party, is actually being organised as a mono-ethnic party. As regards the party's orientation, there is every reason to believe that it will not remain communist, Rubiks said. Its representatives express the opinion in the debate that this will be a socialist party.

Historian Assesses Latvia's Immediate Future

90UN2165A Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 31 May 90 p 3

[Article by historian Andrey Vorontsov: "Future Forecast"]

[Text] What do we miss most when we recall the good old days of "stagnation"? Meat and imports, which sometimes appeared on store counters without the "free-market tag"? Yes, of course. Beer, vodka, and, strange to say, collectible wines, which were freely purchasable in almost any food store? Yes, undoubtedly. But deep down, it seems to me, we miss most what defined the essence of "stagnation"—a stable, predictable future.

We were all sure that there would be no appreciable changes a day, a month, a year on. Once more from an oration from a wise loyal Leninist we would learn about a swift solution of the food problem or our country's "brilliant" contribution to the cause of peace throughout the world. Once again our children would summarize the latest literary revelation of the general, and we would debate particular features of the term "developed socialism." And there would be a school with a curriculum unchanged over decades and an institute which almost anyone could attend—if not on account of his brains, for his parents' money at least. And guaranteed work for 120-150 rubles, if, of course, a parent of yours did not belong to the caste of superiors, and almost certainly one's own apartment in about 15-20 years. Additionally,

you would unfailingly retire on a pension. And no interethnic relations and market economy, inasmuch as we had friendship of the peoples and a planned economy. No surprises would be seen in the political plane either: all were pre-pioneers, almost all, Communist Youth League members, and if one was lucky one could find oneself among the three workers or collective farm members per one member of the intelligentsia stratum admitted to the party (as was recommended earlier). And this was a true lever in career advancement.

There is no trace even of this now. You can go to sleep at night with one political situation and wake up in the morning with another. You can begin lunch with the announcement of a declaration of independence and end it to an edict of the president revoking this same independence. You may find milk in a store or you may find none at all. There is no stability and predictability in society.

..."Damned capitalism," which has experienced this situation, long since learned to calm the citizens with the aid of politicians' statements based on the findings of various political science and sociological services, which usually come true, as a whole, and which bolster the Western man in the street's confidence in the future. Such forecasts with us in Latvia are a rarity as yet. Therefore, considering that there is a need for such services, we young historians, sociologists, journalists, and highly skilled programmers have formed the Independent Political Science Center with the resources of the "Third Way" movement, whose mission includes the forecasting of both the political and economic situation in Latvia in the immediate future.

Of course, as distinct from the Nepalese horoscope, our forecasts are based not on the stars but on sociological research, a study of the situation, and somewhat on intuition. We are attempting today to make the first such forecast. I would ask that we not be judged severely inasmuch as even the weather service, which has almost a century of experience of observations, tries to get away with the general answers "from zero to 10" plus lies regularly. If all this is of interest to you and you consider possible the further appearance of such forecasts in SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, and also if you conceive of a desire to order a specific sociological study or political forecast, you may address them to me via SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH.

So, Our Forecast

Latvia is in for a stormy summer and even stormier fall. But be in no hurry to buy up the remaining macaroni. In all probability, an economic blockade, documents on which have already been prepared in Moscow, will not be applied in respect of Latvia in the immediate future. Although the gasoline situation will become even worse, and therefore if you have a vehicle sell it before it is too late inasmuch as their prices will fall, and if you wish to buy, it would be better to acquire a foreign make—there will be more 95 gasoline than other types.

The Latvian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform is in for a temporary upswing inasmuch as it will be perceived up to the fall as the main defender of the Russian-speaking population. Alfred Rubiks will remain among the dozen most influential politicians of the republic. The party of Ivar Kezbers is in for a difficult time, but in the fall it will have an opportunity to appreciably reinforce its ranks if it is able to enlist democrats from the Russian-speaking population. The process of erosion of the Interfront will intensify, and many of its supporters will prefer to work in the Latvian Communist Party, the United Council of Labor Collectives, and committees for defense of the USSR Constitution. The Latvian People's Front will continue until fall as a single organization, although contradictions between its center and radicals will become manifest.

A difficult fate awaits the Ivar Godmanis government. This likable man and convinced anticommunist will hardly be heading the government after the fall of 1990, although he will adopt important decisions concerning private property in the republic and Latvian citizenship. The Latvian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform will not be banned under him but a general rationing system will be introduced.

The idea of the achievement of Latvia's independence via the conclusion of a confederative treaty with the other republics incorporated in the USSR will strengthen in society, and if this idea prevails, direct presidential rule, ideas of which are becoming increasingly popular in Moscow, will not await us in the fall of 1990. If this does not happen, the need to combat mafia structures and separatism will serve as justification. Given any outcome, the introduction of a market economy will be speeded up, although I cannot see how an incipient market and any form of authoritarianism can be combined.

Large-scale political strikes, as also front actions, will not be organized before the fall of 1990. Distrust of all political organizations and their leaders is growing, and people will see in all political sections the realization of the personal ambitions of leaders. There will be no increase in the number of joint ventures with the West. Their continued existence will largely depend on a compromise between Latvia and Moscow. The growth of crime in the republic, on the other hand, will continue, and even the accelerated depoliticization of the Ministry of Internal Affairs authorities will not help here.

As a whole, we are faced with a difficult time, although progress toward a democratic and law-based Latvia will continue. The sole thing that we can guarantee today is a growth in the fall and summer of 1990 of the popularity of SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH with a simultaneous change in its name and a reduction in the paper allocated it.

This is how our short forecast shapes up. If it is of interest to you and if some of it comes to pass, write and send us your suggestions.

Baltic Finance Ministers Discuss Strategy

LD0507211390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The finance ministers of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania held a meeting in Riga today. They discussed the strategy for the interaction of the finance organs of the Baltic republics during the transition to independence. Opinions were exchanged on the situation of the banking system, the establishment of finances or tax inspections, the future financial aspect of privatizing property, and attracting foreign capital.

The ministers agreed that in drawing up laws and other normative documents, a constant exchange of information and cooperation in preparing draft agreement of Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and the union organs on mutual regulation of financial problems will take place. The ministers signed a corresponding agreement and regulations of the financial fund of the Baltic republics.

Baltic Ministers of Justice Meet

LD0407223590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1920 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] A meeting of the ministers of justice of the Baltic Republics has taken place in Vilnius. Lithuania was represented at the meeting by Minister Kuris, Latvia by Minister Skudra, and Estonia by Minister Raidla. The participants in the meeting confirmed their efforts to coordinate the laws regulating relations common to all three republics. An agreement was signed on cooperation in the development of legislation, a coordinating council was set up, future tasks for activity were mapped out.

The ministers of justice of the Baltic states were received by Prime Minister Prunskiene.

Baltics To Apply for Europarliament Membership

LD0507023290 Riga International Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Anatolijs Gorbunovs, announced this morning that the Baltic States Council, of which he is a member, is preparing to send two documents to international organizations. A request will be addressed to the president of the European Parliament to allow delegations of the Baltic states to be formed in the European Parliament. A reminder will be sent to the president of parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe that these three states were members of the former League of Nations until their occupation, and that the time has now come to restore their status with delegations to the European Parliament.

Kezbers on Independent Baltic Communists' Meeting

LD2806140790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1109 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Text] [Announcer] Talks were held in Riga yesterday evening and this morning by representatives of the independent Communist Parties of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. They dealt with long-term cooperation among communists of the Baltic region who support the restoration of the state independence of their republics. Here is what Ivars Kezbers, chairman of the Independent Communist Party of Latvia, told me on the telephone:

[Kezbers] I have just said good-bye to Comrade Brazauskas.

[Announcer] How did this trilateral meeting go?

[Kezbers] You know, I am not by nature a great optimist, but I would like to say that this meeting has been a success, and let me say why. We set outselves three main tasks: The first was to brief each other on the political situation in each republic, the second issue concerned the situation in the parties and their prospects, and the third very complex issue was our attitude to the 28th CPSU Congress.

I believe that the goals set have been achieved, and here is why: First, we have defined a specific mechanism for joint consultations. We have defined the level and content of these consultations, this mechanism that is to operate, and we have already defined the first tasks for the people who are going to maintain constant contact, maintain this exchange of information and experience and keep each other notified. A cooperation protocol in which all this is laid down has been signed, and will be published. We now have defined the main areas of cooperation. They are the party and its work in parliament and government, since in your country and here in Latvia we are allies of the People's Front, to some extent, and belong to a coalition government. An exchange of experience is probably very useful here, for we are doing everything for the first time.

Now there is an exchange of experience on the work of the mass media, especially the mass media of the USSR, the center, Moscow, in other words.

The third area is our presence and information work in Moscow. We stressed that this is very important, for all the same, Moscow is the place where much will be decided regarding the realization of our independence. In other words, we have defined a range of issues and several forms of activity which we must pursue in the embassies and permanent missions of other union republics which still exist in Moscow today.

Now for cooperation in the field of work with the Russian-speaking category of people in our republics. This is very important, for our party, say, has a monoethnic membership: slightly more than 10 percent is made up of Russian-speaking representatives. Of course, that is too little for a left-wing, mass party.

A document was elaborated during the meeting which also will be published in the press in a few days. It is an appeal to delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress. We express our position in that document. It is negative in

many respects regarding the CPSU Central Committee, which is engaged in a policy of ignoring us morally to a certain degree. The issue of property has not been resolved, nor has the issue of contacts; I mean business contacts between parties. There are a number of other issues that have come to a head. This document also will be distributed among delegates to the 28th congress. This will be done by our Estonian colleagues and comrades, who are still going to the 28th congress as delegates because they have a transitional period for now, which is peculiar to them.

[Announcer] Will a delegation from the Independent Communist Party of Latvia not be participating in the work of the congress as guests?

[Kezbers] No, we are not being invited, just as the Independent Communist Party of Lithuania is not being invited.

[Announcer] To summarize, so to speak, are the independent communist parties of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia today proposing a completely new strategic line?

[Kezbers] Regarding the CPSU, yes. I want to say that our strategic line is very precise and clear. We are going our own way. We are not tied in any way, either organizationally or politically, to the CPSU. However, in conditions of a transitional period such as our republics have defined, we naturally need many contacts in Moscow, and we have to have them. We definitely need real cooperation within the framework of this position, so to speak.

RSFSR

Moscow TV Reports 5 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

Broadcasting Discussed

LD0507134390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 5 July begins carrying recorded reportage on the 5 July session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Yeltsin is shown chairing session and asks deputies to register. There are 125 present.

At 1302 GMT, Yudin, chairman of committee on media, says voters are dissatisfied with edited television reports. He proposes full coverage of the joint sessions.

At 1303 GMT, an unidentified deputy from the floor speaks about the previous discussion on broadcasting. Full coverage is the only way around problems of what to edit out. Another deputy says they have to consider the cost. Further discussion of relative costs and merits of full or edited coverage ensues. Tikhomirov speaks, among others, saying it is time Russia had its own television.

At 1310 GMT, Yeltsin sums up. The decision on edited coverage has been implemented and found wanting. Consensus seems to be for full coverage.

At 1312 GMT, Yeltsin says today's business is to hear Silayev's report, which will be allocated 30 minutes, then there will be 30 minutes of questions and answers and an hour for debates.

Structure Debated

LD0507140190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1315 GMT on 5 July continues its recorded reportage on the 5 July session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Silayev comes to rostrum to report on the proposed structure of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. The aim has been to produce a structure best able to fulfill the government's tasks. Three fundamentals being considered are working for the benefit of people as individuals; the production cell as the manufacturing base; and the importance of sovereignty.

New bodies and new titles have emerged, and some of the old departments have slightly different roles. Silayev points to a chart of the government structure, going into details about the Committee on Statistics and Council of Ministers. The Peasant's Council is also picked out separately, as is the committee on looking after state property.

At 1325 GMT, Silayev says deputies have documents on the structure of the government and turns to a large chart on the platform. He deals first with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Forestry. Decisions on structure have resulted from much discussion with agriculturalists. The agriculture minister will be first deputy premier.

Silayev points out the Committee on Economy on the chart, names (Finchin) as probable nominee to head it. The Commission on Economic Reform's probable nominee chairman is also named. The functions of the Gosplan, the Committee on Prices, and some other bodies have been redistributed. The economic committees will also deal with economic ties with other union republics. Agreement in principle on economic cooperation with them has already been reached.

At 1333 GMT, Silayev turns to another set of committees and ministries, which have importance in seeing through implementation of laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet which have not yet started to take effect. He points to the Commission on Land Reform and to a committee charged with ensuring material supply for enterprises, which is a commercial center, not just a replacement for Gossnab.

There is one committee dealing with science and higher education, says Silayev. The Ministry of Education is

separate. There is also a Ministry of Mass Media, Communications, and Information Technology.

At 1338 GMT, Silayev picks out the Committee on National Security and Cooperation with the USSR Ministry of Defense and USSR KGB, directly subordinate to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. He talks about its functions.

Silayev then turns to another set of departments, dwelling on the Committee on Local Self-Government, which is very important because of the powers being devolved to local level. There is also a Ministry of Industry, which will have a lot of work to do.

At 1342 GMT, Silayev returns to the rostrum and mentions some comments on the structure which have already come in and are worth considering. He has been asked why there is no committee on women's or family affairs. This will be considered, possibly as a subcommittee. It has also been suggested that a body dealing with affairs of the extreme north could be formed. An existing minister may be given responsibility for tourism.

Organization Viewed

LD0507143490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1348 GMT on 5 July continues its recorded reportage of the 5 July session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Yeltsin asks speakers to register. The first question to Silayev concerns legal aspect of naming of committees, subordination of committee on national security. Silayev replies

At 1350 GMT, Silayev replies to a deputy who is indignant about the absence of a ministry of grain products. He answers another's question about the committee on the media; further questions on allocation of committees to deputy chairman of the council of ministers; the absence of a ministry dealing with atomic power; the absence of a committee on clearing up the Chernobyl aftermath—there will be a state program. Silayev promises a deputy that the government will be settled in and at work within a month.

At 1404 GMT, a deputy asks about functions of some of the proposed departments and posts. Silayev gives further details of how they are distributed and promises to take suggestions into account.

At 1404 GMT, Yeltsin replies to a written question about the Committee on National Security, which he says will be composed of a number of subcommittees.

At 1405 GMT, a deputy from the Mari ASSR asks about which ministry will be responsible for agricultural machine-building. Silayev suggests that some issues will be resolved at the local level. Asked if the Peasant Union might propound conservatism, Silayev says he hopes it will accentuate progressive ideas. He then deals with written questions on road construction, forestry management. Serdyukov mnakes a point from the floor concerning the administration of enterprises. Silayev replies to him and to a deputy enquiring about the ministry responsible for communications.

Yeltsin on Precious Stones

LD0507153990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1415 GMT on 5 July continues its recorded reportage on the 5 July session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow.

A deputy asks a question about economic structures' committees and the number of personnel involved. Silayev replies that the Ministry of Agriculture will have about 300 staff. As for the Peasants Union, it may be headed by Starodubtsev. He goes on to explain in answer to another question that main roads will be financed from the budget.

At 1419 GMT another deputy asks a question about the division of functions between the union and the republic. The questioner thinks that communications should be devolved to the republic. Silayev agrees.

At 1421 GMT Yeltsin says time has run out.

At 1423 GMT Yeltsin reads out a question about precious stones and metals: Do they come under the Union or the republic? Discussions are under way on this matter, he says. This answer is geeted with applause.

At 1426 GMT a speaker from the floor gives precise details of who controls precious metals.

At 1427 GMT Yeltsin outlines the timetable for the remainder of the session. Speakers from the floor call for more time for the debate. Yeltsin insists on the agreed schedule. Silayev says he will meet committee chairmen later.

Various deputies makes procedural points.

At 1434 GMT Yeltsin reads out the names of those who have put their names down to speak in the coming debate.

At 1435 GMT (Varkalameyev) speaks of the importance of tackling ecological problems and setting up a special body to do this. (Polosin), dressed in religious robes calls for more church autonomy.

At 1441 GMT (Plotkin) criticizes Silayev's earlier reply to a question from the floor about ways to deal with the aftermath of Chernobyl. A special committee must be set up, he insists. In the RSFSR 110,000 people need to be resettled.

At 1444 GMT a deputy from Arkhangelsk suggests ways of improving the communications network in the republic. He is followed by Zhiltsov who talks about the

structure of the Council of Ministers, and says there should be a committee for housing.

At 1449 GMT Sokolov talks about ways to improve housing provision and consumer goods. He also believes that there must be help for sport and youth.

At 1452 GMT (Akhmetov) talks about the names and functions of various power engineering bodies. (Kushnarenko) from Rostov complains of declining investment in agriculture.

At 1459 GMT Yeltsin announces a 30-minute interval.

Roles Discussed

LD0507165390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 5 July continues its recorded reportage on the 5 July session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin in Moscow. After the break a deputy from Leningrad talks about the retraining of managers and Deputy Gorelov calls for support for the ministerial structure proposed by Silayev.

At 1507 GMT Deputy (Nazarov) talks about the role of the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and the functions of various parts of the ministerial structure. He is followed by Deputy Medvedev at 1511 GMT who talks about the principles of local management.

At 1515 GMT Deputy Kachanov calls for the RSFSR to set up its own bank and other institutions.

At 1525 GMT Deputy Yakovlev, a historian, calls for a committee to deal with issues of the north where there are many problems.

At 1530 GMT Deputy (Oblakimov) speaks of the need for a renewed federation and for more attention to be given to ethnic problems.

At 1536 GMT Silayev replies to the questions raised by the speaker in the debate On the role of government in regulating religious affairs and on the role of the ministerial structure.

At 1541 GMT Yeltsin says that more power should be devolved to the localities and not concentrated among bureaucrats. He discusses the further timetable of the session's work. Government personnel will be discussed tomorrow morning, he says. He makes various proposals to Silayev on the basis of the suggestions made by deputies during the debate.

At 1548 GMT a deputy suggests reducing the number of ministries.

At 1550 GMT Yeltsin suggests that approval be given in the main to the proposed structure. A deputy suggests that the Supreme Soviet should have a say in the selection of all members of the state committees. Another deputy stresses the need to make good provision for the affairs of the northern regions. Other points are raised.

At 1601 GMT a deputy protests against the idea of approving the structure in general as being an unsatisfactory procedure reminiscent of the actions of the old RSFSR Supreme Soviet. There is further discussion about whether the structure should be accepted as a basis or not.

At 1604 GMT Yeltsin stresses the importance of the structure of the government. Yeltsin takes a vote on instructing the presidium to carry out further work on the structure. The vote is carried.

At 1606 GMT deputies raise various points about refugees, people's deputies being prevented from meeting their voters at the Rossiya Hotel, about the sale of emigre newspapers in Gorkiy and elsewhere calling for violent overthrow of regime.

At 1610 GMT Yeltsin makes a suggestion about the possible schedule for tomorrow. Silayev will make a start by presenting his government to the various Supreme Soviet committees and commissions. They will then discuss the government structure prior to the next full session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 10 July.

At 1613 GMT there are more suggestions about tomorrow's work arrangements. Yeltsin says a firm timetable will be distributed to deputies.

At 1616 GMT Yeltsin closes the session until 0930 hours Moscow time on 10 July, when the joint session will resume.

Reportage on 5 Jul Supreme Soviet Session

Polozkov Interviewed

LD0507135490 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 5 Jul 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] The first working session of the Central Committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party, which was elected at the inaugural congress, will take place today. Organizational matters, including the structure of the Central Committee apparatus, will be discussed. I have received numerous congratulations on my election in which people wish me success in the new post, said Polozkov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party in his interview to the correspondent of the INTERFAX Agency. At the same time, he added, there are some telegrams expressing disagreement with my election to this post. I am convinced that in the course of the work, all those who consider me a conservative will be convinced that this opinion is mistaken.

Answering a question about whether he and his family were allocated a place of residence in Moscow, Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov has said that this question has not been solved yet. I would like to say that after the television statement of Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, the chairman of the Mossovet, that he does not consider it possible to offer me an apartment in Moscow, I received numerous offers from the Moscovites unknown to me who were ready to offer their apartments for my own use, said Polozkov. However, I would like to note that I have a legal right for residential accomodation in Moscow because when I went to work in Krasnodar, I surrendered my Moscow apartment.

Television Relays Discussed

LD0507182390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1302 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Exchange between Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; Delegate Yugin, chairman of the Committee for Mass Information Media, and an unidentified deputy, at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session on 5 July, in the Kremlin, Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Yeltsin] The question of relays has arisen once again. Please go ahead, Comrade Yugin.

[Yugin] Yugin, 13th national territorial constituency, Leningrad, chairman of the 17th committee dealing with the mass information media. A sitting of our committee took place yesterday. We analyzed the first day's television relay of our session and came to the conclusion that the clips that were shown in the form of a reportage are not what is wanted by our voters and the television viewers; in particular, they do not reflect the true struggle and the true nature of the progress of our session. The committee therefore insists on the fulfillment of the decision of the First Congress of People's Deputies of Russia that there should be a full relay of the joint sittings. I ask the session to support our proposal.

[Yeltsin] On this matter? Microphone No. 3.

[Unidentified deputy] National territorial constituency No. 59. Our chairman forgot one thing. We invited Comrade Ogorodnikov to yesterday's sitting of our committee. He is one of the Central Television leaders with particular responsibility for our relays. We had a very detailed discussion with him about this. He told us officially that from the standpoint of the technology, the labor intensiveness and so on, full relays, without cuts and without editing, are considerably more efficient for the television workers and considerably more acceptable. One further point. It seems to me that we also have to carry out our own decision because in this very room, on one of the first days of our session, if you remember, the question was put to the vote. I myself made such a proposal and it was put to the vote: that there should be reports on separate sittings and on work in committees; but that there should be full relays of joint sittings. That decision was adopted by the necessary majority. We have to get back to that. [passage omitted]

[Yeltsin] I feel that the majority are inclined to the view that we should carry out our first decision. We talked about the session and we talked about how it was covered. True, we subsequently limited ourselves and it turns out that this is not going too well. Shall we have another vote or shall we simply say that we support our first decision to hold live relays on radio and television? [voices from the floor saying "full relays"]

[Yeltsin] Full relays. If there are no objections, then, we will support the first decision we adopted. With regard to the expenditure, I think we will sort that out. The estimate that has been confirmed is not being exceeded, our work is proceeding within the limits of this estimate. For the time being.

Silayev Discusses Structure

LD0507175790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1315 GMT on 5 July, in the course of its recorded reportage on the first session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, carries a 27-minute speech by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Silayev begins: "Esteemed comrade chairman! Esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet! In accordance with the decisions of the First Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, may I report to you on the draft structure of the RSFSR Council of Ministers." He asks members to refer to the details handed out, and continues: "We have primarily striven to see that the structure reflects the goals and tasks that face the executive organ of power of our republic, and that the structure should be the one most successful in promoting resolution of the main task and decisions adopted by the congress and the Supreme Soviet. I would like to stress the three most important principles that we consider to be inherent in the proposed structure. The first is to work for the people; the second is for the production cell, in all its forms and variety, to be the economic basis; and the third is the implementation of the principles of sovereignty of the RSFSR in the political, economic, social, and other aspects of that concept. Since we are already working on the program for transition to a market economy, and the Russian Federation will definitely be working in such conditions, this most important part of the life of our Russian society must be reflected, and we think it has been reflected, in our structure."

Silayev then talks in general about the changed distribution of functions under the new structure. He continues: "I would like to say a few words to explain the composition of the government. First, I would like to say that the presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers—at the top of the (?chart)—contains 16 people, including six deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers headed by the chairman, and heads of ministries and departments that we consider should in general be in the presidium. There is a question that must be discussed with you. We have here, as part of the presidium, a chairman of the

committee on statistics and analysis. In general, from the point of view of having extremely impartial statistics, absolutely free and independent, this should in theory be a body of the Supreme Soviet, in our opinion. But if you find it necessary and possible to give us these functions, then we have provided for this cell [referring to chart], reporting directly to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. As you can see, here there are statistics and analysis. This is a fundamental question; we have in mind here not only impartial information, but also a certain analysis of the information received."

Silayev says he will explain the purpose of the innovations council reporting to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. "Already, there is a large quantity of all kinds of proposals, fundamental proposals, I would say some bold ones among them, that arrives on the desk of the Council of Ministers chairman, and they contain both energy and the desire to help Russia, and it is virtually impossible to sort out this mass of proposals. If this is left to the traditional scheme, then we know how it will all end. So with that aim, of selecting from the incoming proposals some that are very serious, new in principle, and extremely necessary, realistic, and sensible proposals, we need a working apparatus, which is what there will be, a group of eight or nine people—we are now working on recruiting them—who will examine these issues, analyze them in depth, and make recommendations to the chairman and the presidium of the RSFSR Council of Ministers." The former consultants' council has been abolished, says Silayev.

"I would like to draw your attention to the place lower down [on the chart], in the middle, where there is a little square, a rectangle for chairman of the Peasant Union. We consider that the issues of the countryside and the revival of the countryside, and hence the revival of Russia, are so serious and in such profound neglect that participation of the chairman of the Russian Peasant Council in the government is something we consider extremely necessary, and we ask for your consent and support for him to be part of the government."

Silayev says he thinks the committee on state property should preferably belong to the Supreme Soviet, not the government. He then explains the layout of his chart and talks about the Ministry of Agriculture. The minister will be a first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Silayev covers some of the departments dealing with the economy, noting their role in drafting programs to implement strategic decisions of the Supreme Soviet and congress. Silayev says that "it is important for us that the redistribution via the center of all kinds of resources, material and other, should end, and that we should be able to work directly, on a contractual basis, with all union republics. Such agreement in principle already exists, and this work will undoubtedly be organized here in this committee and its relevant subunits."

Turning to another part of his chart, Silayev says: "We consider that a most important problem, and a major shortcoming even of the good laws being adopted today by the USSR Supreme Soviet, is that they are not being put into practice because there is no mechanism for their implementation. So there appear here a number of units, such as the committees on land reform, on antimonopoly policy and consumer protection, on management of state property, on support for economic structures, and, finally, a Ministry of Labor." Silayev talks about the role of the committee charged with material supply for enterprises and about the science and education departments, then turns to the Committee on National Security, which is also responsible for joint working with the USSR Ministry of Defense and the KGB. "I would like to comment on this rectangle, which reports directly to the chairman of the Council of Ministers; this is the Committee on National Security and Cooperation with the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR KGB. First of all, may I remind you that a resolution of the congress sets out the tasks of the government, and says that there should be cells in the government, including at the ministerial level, to work together with the KGB and the Ministry of Defense. There have been many discussions, very serious, profound reflections, that have brought us to the need to propose to you the option for a committee, as indicated here. I stress, it is national security. In order for us to successfully resolve the tasks, the complicated tasks of reviving our economy and our sovereignty, we naturally need a stable situation, one such as we do regrettably not have today. And we reckon that this committee should help not to register and make statements, but in the future to set about eliminating this or that hotbed of difficulties and conflicts. This means analyzing the situation, the political and social situation, the interethnic situation, and forecasting the possible development of events that do not at first seem dangerous, but then lead to an explosive situation. This, we consider, is one of the most important tasks of the Committee on National Security. Naturally, they will have a powerful computer center, which will help gather and process information and provide suitable recommendations, both to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic and to the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers."

Silayev then deals with ministries for local self-government, and invites comments on the proposed structure.

Polozkov Chairs Meeting

PM0507221990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Jul 90 Single Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Regarding the Second Stage of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress"]

[Text] When should the second stage of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress be held? How best to compose its leadership organs? What should be the action program of Russian communists? These and other questions were the focus of attention during yesterday's [5 July] meeting of members of the RSFSR

Communist Party Central Committee who are attending the 28th CPSU Congress and leaders of delegations from the Russian Federation's kray, oblast, and republic organizations. A Coordination Council for preparation of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress' second stage was created, comprising members of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. Congress delegates and members of the committee that prepared the Russian Party Conference will also be involved in the work. Guidelines were laid down for the activity to elaborate a draft action program and to prepare proposals concerning the composition of elected organs and the provision of organizational and ideological backup for the second stage of the Russian communists' forum. A series of other questions concerning the holding of the forum were also discussed.

I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, chaired the meeting.

Yeltsin on Metal Production

LD0507194890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1423 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Exchange between Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soivet, and Unidentified Speaker at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session on 5 July, in the Kremlin, Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Yeltsin, reading out a question] The extraction of precious metals, including gold and diamonds, is it the monopoly of the union or the republic, with reference to the declaration on sovereignty? An interesting question. [laughter; someone in the hall says "a reply"]. Eh? [laughter continues]. An answer? Well, I do want to give an answer. I want to give an answer.

According to current legislation, this is only a monopoly of the union and two of its bodies: the Finances Ministry, which controls and determines, and so on, and the Metallurgy Ministry, as regards extraction. It is the former non-ferrous metallurgy ministry and now the Ministry of Metallurgy; and a little bit, the Ministry of Medium Machine Building. We have not handed over the enterprises of these sectors, both the Finance Ministry and Metallurgy Ministry, in our division of functions, to union jurisdiction, that is, we are keeping these enterprises and organizations on the territory of Russia, so to speak subordinate to us, to Russia. This will be one of the main questions of our serious debates. What is going to happen with precious metals? We must sit down with every ministry and sign a corresponding, so to speak, distributing list, including with the Finance Ministry, and yesterday I already gave the Finance Ministry advance notification about this. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified speaker] Comrades, I would like to make the following clarification on gold: The lion's share of gold and metal extracted on the territory of the Russian Federation belongs to the State Committee on Diamonds and Gold, which is subordinate to the USSR Council of Ministers. Having in mind the Ministry of Metallurgy and the Ministry of Medium Machine Building, there will be most bother with this committee, perhaps, and this is where the main work needs to start.

[Yelsin] Undoubtedly. [passage omitted]

Filshin Nominated for Post in Supreme Soviet

LD0607095190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0630 GMT on 6 July broadcasts a two and one-half minute report on the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet session in Moscow by correspondent Olga Vasilenko.

Vasilenko begins her report with the day's agenda. The original idea was for work to take place in committees and commissions, where the candidacies for the post of first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and other deputy chairmen would be discussed. Committees and commissions dealing with economic problems should have met at 1000, but the hall in which the session was to take place turned out to be too small to accommodate all those wishing to attend, since deputies from other committees and commissions turned up for the important discussion on the composition of the government. In the end, it was decided to move to the hall in which joint sessions of the chambers are normally held. As a result, the morning session started "just a few minutes ago" Vasilenko says at 0636 GMT.

She continues that the session was opened by Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. For the post of deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the committee on the economy, he nominated Gennadiy Innokentyevich Filshin on a no-contest basis, since he was the ideal candidate, holding opinions close to those of himself and Yeltsin. Vasilenko than gives a biographical profile of Filshin. Silayev later had to defend his no-contest decision, saying that he had the constitutional right to appoint his first deputy.

Vasilenko says Filshin then spoke, beginning with: "Everyone knows what needs to be done, but few know what needs to be done first and what later."

Vasilenko concludes by saying that Filshin is still speaking, and that she would give further congress reports later on.

RSFSR Deputies React to Recent Congresses

90UN2259A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 26, 30 Jun-6 Jul 90 p 2

["Statement of group of RSFSR people's deputies, CPSU members"]

[Text] Several days ago two congresses ended in the Kremlin—RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist

Republic] people's deputies and the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party. The contrast between them is obviou.

The former congress of people's deputies, which reflected all the diversity of political positions in the republic, was able to overcome considerable difficulties and adopted important decisions which can blaze a trail out of the crisis and toward real democratization under conditions of civil peace.

At the constituent congress of the Communist Party of Russia another political line clearly dominated—the line of counterreform, protection of the slipping authority of the more aggressive and conservative forces of the party and state apparatus. At the Congress of People's Deputies this line was defeated. At the party congress it took the upper hand. The creation of the RSFSR Communist Party was accompanied by a stronger confrontation with the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The creation of the organizational structures of the RSFSR Communist Party and the unnecessary haste were the most serious attempt of the past few years to turn the democratic development in our country backward and create a strong counterweight to the new Russian parliament and the reforms it is carrying out.

The culmination of the constituent congress was the election to the position of first secretary of the Central Committee of I.K. Polozkov, who is known for his aggressive-conservative views and who was rejected for these reasons by the congress of people's deputies in the election of the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

We state:

—the line of the constituent congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR and the political image of the leader elected there are in sharp contrast to the program with which we went to the elections and the duties we assigned to our voters as well as the democratic tendencies that exist in the society.

The questions of legal succession, organizational structures, and CPSU property cannot be solved through simple seizure. They require, as a minimum, a referendum during which each party organization and each CPSU member makes their own decision.

We state that we do not consider ourselves to be members of the Communist Party of the RSFSR, for whose creation we, like millions of other communists, gave neither our authority nor our agreement.

We will not be bound by the decisions of this constituent congress and we call for communists who share our convictions to do the same thing.

[Signed] RSFSR people's deputies: Ye.A. Ambartsumov, M.G. Arutyunov, A.A. Belyayev, M.A. Bocharev, A.L. Bugrinov, M.L. Zakharov, B.A. Zolotukhin, Ye.N Kim, Ye.M. Kozhokin, V.F. Mamchatov, V.A. Lysenko, A.N. Medvedev, V.A. Rebrikov, A.P. Surkov, S.A. Filatev, V.L. Sheyhis, S.P. Shustov, and S.N. Yushenkov.

Media Communists React to RSFSR Congress

PM0407142590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Gayaz Alimov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Diverse Assessments"]

[Text] The recent RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Constituent Congress and the decisions adopted at it have provoked diverse assessments and stormy discussions among Moscow's communists.

Primary party organizations are currently holding meetings at which corresponding resolutions are adopted. At a briefing which took place 29 June at the NOVOSTI press agency representatives of the journal KOMMUNIST, NOVOSTI, and the newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA made statements to Soviet and foreign journalists.

As is well known, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA's communists have suspended payment of their membership dues, and some of them their party membership as well, until the end of the 28th CPSU Congress. They connect the question of their subsequently remaining in the party ranks with the decisions of this congress.

Doctor of Economic Sciences R. Simonyan, secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute party committee, expressed his view to IZVESTIYA's correspondent as follows:

"In yesterday's edition of your paper, in the "Political Diary," our party organization's position is presented not entirely accurately. Communists at the institute are not suspending their membership of the party. We believe that such a step is wrong in principle. After all, by leaving the party, people of progressive views willingly or not strengthen the position of the conservative forces. Our party organization acted differently: We believe ourselves in no way bound by the decision to set up the RSFSR Communist Party, and are holding back from joining it. Do you see the difference? Let the neo-Stalinist forces end up in isolation and break away if they want to do so.

In answer to a question as to why the voice of Moscow communists was heard so feebly at the constituent congress, V. Kuznetsov, secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee, said at the briefing that the secretaries and delegates had already voiced their attitude to this. We consider the fact that none of us came forward with a detailed account of the position of Moscow communists a tactical error. This tactic enabled some people very scathingly to dub the Moscow delegates "political mice." This lesson must be taken into consideration....

Orthodox Church Patriarch Visits Novgorod

LD0207174590 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 2 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Troyanovskiy]

[Text] Novgorod July 2 TASS—Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia Aleksey started his three-day visit here with a holy mass at the Nikolo-Vyazhishchsky Monastery.

"We aim to increase church activities not only in cathedrals but outside their walls as well. We are planning to deal in agriculture, initiate small enterprises and libraries at temples, "Patriarch Aleksey told TASS.

Cooperation with foreign firms and businessmen will help meet the demand for holy literature—bibles, calendars and books of spiritual and moral contents, he said. The TSERKOVNAYA ZHIZN (CHURCH LIFE) newspaper will soon be launched in Leningrad. It will cover problems of the country's northwest, including the Novgorod Eparchy.

Answering questions by local correspondents, the patriarch stressed that in the years of perestroika the church obtained the opportunity to carry out its mission unhindered. The church faces great tasks to revive the spiritual foundations of society and to relax tension in interetnnic relations, he said.

Silayev, Patriarch Aleksey Hold Moscow Talks

LD2106150690 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 21 Jun 90

[By TASS correspondent Anna Grigoryeva]

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—Russian Federation Prime Minister Ivan Silayev today talked with Patriarch Aleksey of Moscow and all-Russia.

The two men discussed the relationship between the Russian Federation government and the Church. In particular, they discussed the bill on freedom of conscience and ways to extend the Church's involvement in charity and the revival of spiritual and moral values in society.

The conversation took place at the patriarch's residence in Moscow. Over the past 50 years the old mansion has played host to many prominent religious leaders, statesmen and public figures of the Soviet Union and foreign countries.

Yeltsin Attends Patriarch's Church Service

90UN2198C Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Under the Domes of St. Isaac's Cathedral"]

[Text] A solemn church service took place on Sunday 17 June in St. Isaac's Cathedral in Leningrad.

It was conducted by the most holy Patriarch of Moscow and all of Rus, Aleksey II.

This liturgy was performed in Russia's largest cathedral which was at one time the most important church of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, B.N. Yeltsin, and the chairman of the Leningrad Soviet, USSR People's Deputy A.A. Sobchak, attended the service.

Loudspeakers mounted on the outside columns of the cathedral relayed the ceremony to the adjacent squares.

Russian Party Chief I.K. Polozkov Interviewed

PM0307135790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Jul 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, by Anatoliy Salutskiy; date, place not given: "More Action"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The election of Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov as first secretary of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee has elicited an ambivalent yet very stormy reaction in the mass media. And a natural result of such enhanced attention is tremendous interest in the Russian Communists' leader, a new-wave politician molded directly in the crucible of perestroyka, at its forward edges, where thoughts and ideas of renewal are embodied in the realities of life. What kind of man is he? What is the scale of his personality? Of course, the hasty "exit interviews" right after the end of the Constituent Congress could not provide the answer to these questions. Today we offer readers the first sketch, as it were, for a political portrait of the newest of our leaders today—Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov.

[Salutskiy] Ivan Kuzmich, delegates to the Constituent Congress devoted a lot of attention to the current moment and the political situation in the party and the country. What are your personal assessments of the current moment?

[Polozkov] On the whole, I agree with the resolution adopted at the congress, which gives a critical, tough characterization of the situation which has taken shape. But a finer and, I would say, more professional analysis of the distribution of social forces and processes in the sphere of power is also important. These questions are very important for those who are professional politicians. I say this because I worked in the Kuban for the past six years, and for some reason public opinion has gotten the idea that oblast party committee first secretaries are "down-to-earth" apparatchiks bogged down in economic, organizational, and other utilitarian affairs—in short, people infinitely remote from a profound

understanding of the political processes taking place at the center. But this is untrue.

Of course concrete, grass-roots work takes up a lot of time. But it also makes it possible to gain a deeper understanding of what goes on in the upper echelons. You will remember that a few years ago there was an anecdote about perestroyka, which likened it to an upland wind in the taiga: It shakes the peaks, while all is calm down below. But now everything is different: The lower levels have been rocked and are seething, and the upper levels are plainly failing to keep up with the pace of change. On my own skin, as it were, I myself have felt these changes in the frame of mind prevailing in the outlying districts. Just like other secretaries who found themselves in the maelstrom of stormy events. Some have not surfaced, it is true. But, on the other hand, those who have come through the trials are true political fighters. In Russia's outlying districts we meditate a great deal, a very great deal, which is why some things are seen differently than they are from the tall buildings in the capital. And I am not talking only of serious comprehension of political processes but also of their correct correlation with the people's feelings and thoughts—which, as is known, is what Lenin called for.

And, to tell the truth, I did not doubt that someone from the leading edge—from Russia's outlying districts—would be elected first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party. It might have been Kuptsov, Melnikov, or Shenin, who are all worthy people. I was surprised that Ponomarev was not a candidate...

[Salutskiy] But, all the same, they elected you...

[Polozkov] Paradoxical though it may seem at first sight, I was partly helped in this by a certain section of the press which swamped me with an avalanche of attacks after my speech at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. I take a philosophical attitude to those attacks and do not lose my spiritual equilibrium. Moreover, being well aware of the unfairness of the rebukes and my opponents' true motives, I did not doubt that a sense of moderation would fail them, that they would go over the top and overdo it, and the result would be the reverse. And so it happened: I was sent encouraging letters from all over the country, and people realized what was what. And I would like to take this opportunity to say a heartfelt thank you to all who supported me.

I make a sober, realistic assessment of the present situation and of the complexities to be encountered. But I do not suffer from an inferiority complex. You know, when you have passed through the sieve of multiple-candidate soviet elections three times in a year, and during such stormy times too—and in the Kuban, moreover, where Cossacks and, in particular, I will tell you the truth, Cossack women will give neither a devil nor an angel any quarter—when you have been put three times by the people through this purgatory, your calm and endurance do, of course, increase.

[Salutskiy] As regards the Cossack women, you probably have in mind the critical events in connection with the draft of reservists at the time of the well-known events in the Transcaucasus?

[Polozkov] Those too. Incidentally, I was asked this question when the candidacies for first secretary were being discussed. The question is rather naive: Why did you, Comrade Polozkov, sign the order to draft reservists? This is how it seemed to sound, at any rate that was precisely its meaning. I had to explain that the drafting of reservists is a state matter, decided and signed at the center, at the highest level, in the Defense Council. But, as regards the consequences of that decree, we had to sort them out.

A women's revolt flared up in an instant, and political forces directed against the party at once tried to use that righteous maternal anger for their own purposes. A rally raged in Krasnodar for five days, and as many as 90,000 people gathered in the square. But from the first moment I was wholeheartedly on the mothers' side, and we at once set up a women's committee—right there in the square!—and began difficult negotiations with Moscow for the reservists' immediate return. This was one of those instances when the party leadership of Krasnodar Kray really and concretely became the expresser of the people's aspirations. And people understood that and pushed to the side of events the local political rogues who were trying to warm their hands on a critical situation.

Underpinned by the people's demands, we succeeded in changing the center's mind, and the sons returned home. That is the truth about the reservists. And that case, when the firmness of the party leadership in Krasnodar and the clarity of its line were verified in practice, elicited a wave of trust in us and also told in the elections. For me this was a very serious lesson: The time of strong-arm dictation from the center is over, and it is the sacred duty of party members in the provinces to express the people's frame of mind. And it is on this basis that relations within the RSFSR Communist Party will be built.

[Salutskiy] Ivan Kuzmich, we have strayed rather far from the question about your political assessment of the situation in the country and the party. How do you view the distribution of forces in the political and state leadership?

[Polozkov] As extremely dynamic! And it cannot be otherwise, for life is constantly complicating the "geometry" of political forces. Look, two years ago, when Ligachev and Yakovlev formally quit the leadership of ideology, public attention was focused exclusively on Gorbachev. But then the figure of Yeltsin began to rise again from temporary political obscurity. After a period "in the shade" Yakovlev began showing his worth increasingly actively, in the role of a developer of ideas.

The 19th all-Union party conference made its own amendments to the distribution of political forces. But after a while many party committees and their leaders

began to come under fire. An unscrupulous attempt to slander Ligachev and remove him from the political scene became easily apparent but was not crowned with success, and his prestige began to rise once again. In this way a quadrilateral with unequal sides gradually took shape in the political leadership, with very complex internal relations that are unclear to the uninitiated. I will say frankly that a perfectly clear understanding of these relations took shape in my consciousness—in all their contradictory and changeable nature. But I do not think this is now the most suitable time for a public analysis of this kind. Particularly as, by the will of fate, the first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party is inevitably faced with widening the circle of the political leadership. This is evidenced by the considerable ballyhoo in the mass media following my election at the Constituent Congress.

[Salutskiy] To judge from your words, you take a calm attitude toward it. Although, in many people's opinion, what happened in the mass media after the Constituent Congress is of an unprecedented nature. Certain mass media are exciting and inflaming the public atmosphere.

[Polozkov] You are right in the respect that it is hard to recall such a coordinated propaganda campaign as the one mounted against the Constituent Congress—coordinated even with foreign radio voices. But everything must be investigated thoroughly. It seems to me that processes are taking place here that in some respects resemble economic processes: We have gotten away from the old but not yet arrived at the new. The former system of censorship and agitprop instructions has collapsed, but the legal mechanism of the press' political and ethical conduct has not yet been worked out. This is a very acute, uneasy question. You have probably read that even in Britain, with its ancient democratic traditions, they have now sounded the alarm in connection with the destabilizing actions of the press and set up a committee to study this problem. Incidentally, I cannot recall leading editors and journalists in America, Britain, or France being elected to parliament or congress, as has happened here. But the First Congress of Russian People's Deputies took the path of legal regulations of life and adopted a resolution on not combining deputy's and political posts. And, you know, this will extend to press workers: Under conditions of a multiparty system the majority of newspapers will belong to parties. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, for example, will no longer have to hide its political sympathies beneath the signboard of the "Znaniye" Society. In general, I repeat, the normal process of forming legal, democratic procedures is taking place in all spheres of life, including in the mass media.

In general, on a personal plane, I do not believe I can waste time replying to unscrupulous critics. But the prestige of the RSFSR Communist Party is another matter! And here, I believe, the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee will take a firm stand and make use of legal mechanisms, particularly the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Glasnost.

But in this same connection I wish also to touch on the subject of party comradeship. However personal relations may shape up among the members of the political leadership, it is not customary in the party to publicly insult one another, and this is a good tradition. Then suddenly, in the "Vremya" program, the first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom [city committee] called the newly elected first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party an "odious individual..." I am not sure that we should revive the spirit of the heavyweights [zaboyshchiki] at the not unknown Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum at which they made short work of Yeltsin.

[Salutskiy] So far we have spoken of the political leadership. But what is your assessment of the situation at the state level?

[Polozkov] A complex "geometry" of power has taken shape here. And it is an alarming fact that the line of the struggle for power is clearly discernible between the soviets and the party. However, it is my profound conviction that this should not exist, for the very object of disagreements is missing. Power belongs to the soviets—this is incontestable and inalienable. In a democratic state it can only be a question of what kind of soviets they are—with or without communists. This is the essence of the current moment.

Therefore attempts to make the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party clash with the Congress of Russian People's Deputies and myself clash with Yeltsin are, once again, of an unscrupulous nature. I make frequent use of this word "unscrupulous" in order not to use stronger expressions and not exacerbate the already inflamed atmosphere. For it is advantageous to some people that the RSFSR Communist Party should show itself in a somewhat fussy light from the first days. But this will not happen, for we have strong nerves. We respect different opinions, but we also know our own strength. Therefore I would like to reply at once to those who dream of making people's deputies and party congress delegates clash: We will not have a confrontation. The interests of all the peoples of the Russian Federation today demand joint work for the good of the whole country.

[Salutskiy] What is your attitude personally toward Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin?

[Polozkov] I have great respect for him—both because of his post and on a personal level, because he has had to endure hard trials and has not been broken. And I value this in people. But, as a politician, I understand that Boris Nikolayevich is more dependent on certain forces now than when he was in opposition. These forces have an interest in seeing Yeltsin more quickly burn the bridges linking him with the CPSU and are pushing him toward this. But it seems to me that Boris Nikolayevich should not be in a hurry. Yeltsin will be less independent if he breaks with the CPSU. The distribution of political forces in parliament is a complex matter. And if you take account of the fact that the country has entered a period

of sociopolitical instability, it is not one-sidedness but a balance of interests that can play a very decisive role.

Incidentally, the press traditionally devotes chief attention to the personalities of leaders, while the "entourage," so to speak—those many middle- and small-caliber politicians who make up the "train" of a major figure—remains in the shade. But it is not without interest to take a close look at their conduct, because a characteristic feature of this "train" begins to show up: If the ideas suggested to the leader prove groundless, the "train" immediately turns away from the man-made idol, turning him into a scapegoat. This is a well-known world political drama, and it seems that it is already being staged here. For example, the attempt to blame all the economic failures of the recent period on Abalkin alone reveals the manifest desire of the "train" to shield itself, although the government relied in its decisions on the recommendations of precisely those economists who are today demanding its resignation.

It seems to me that it is important now, on a tactical plane, not to succumb to the attempts of minor politicians to exacerbate the situation in the sphere of power. The dust will settle soon, the horizons will clear, and we will march together toward the common goal of realizing the concept of Russian sovereignty. But in the present poisonous public atmosphere it is very desirable to display political wisdom.

[Salutskiy] Ivan Kuzmich, much is being said today to the effect that the fate of the reformers will be the fate of the country, and such views regard the RSFSR Communist Party as an antireformist force. What can you say about this?

[Polozkov] The question of reformism is not new; it arose not one year nor 100 years ago. It belongs to the category of age-old conflicts, and it came to light back in the Middle Ages that reformism inevitably embraces various branches. Without going into an analysis of medieval protestantism, I will recall only that Luther attempted to reform the church by preaching, while Calvin was extremely intolerant of dissidence and established a tough religious regime. In short, here too we must look at the crux of the question: What kind of reformers are we talking about?

If we are talking about those supporters of the Democratic Platform who are sincerely interested in renewing the party but who disagree with the CPSU Central Committee Platform on certain questions, then I am undoubtedly in favor of holding a comradely party dialogue with them. I do not doubt that it will lead to mutual rapprochement. I do not take rigid stands or lay down ultimatum-like prior conditions: Either move toward us or leave. I am convinced that people who are very receptive to sensible ideas, who are not steeped in new dogmatism disguised as innovation, and who are ready for a countermovement will work in the nucleus of the RSFSR Communist Party. All this endless talk of conservatism is simply nonsense, to debunk which I even begrudge the time.

But if we are talking of an "intransigent opposition" and, essentially, of liquidationists in the party, there can be no compromises here. Such people are not going our way: Let them create their own party, and let us compete honestly under conditions of a multiparty system. The CPSU will not be broken down from within. And there is no point in intimidating by means of a pullout from the party. Remember Lenin's words: "Howls about a 'split'... are a cowardly, covert, hypocritical **defense** of liquidationists..."

So, as history teaches, there are different kinds of reformers. And amplification is certainly needed here with regard to what and whom we are speaking of.

[Salutskiy] Incidentally, Ivan Kuzmich, the chairman of Moscow City Soviet reported on television that he would not grant the first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party an apartment or a residence permit in the capital...

[Polozkov] I get your drift. This is precisely a Calvinist option that is fraught with great disasters for democracy. Intoxication with power! Although, on a practical plane, very little has been done so far, the main decisions lie ahead, and the people will evaluate such reformers by them... But once again I wish to separate personal and party problems... I will live in a hotel. How Russian communists will perceive the Moscow City Soviet chairman's statement is another matter.

[Salutskiy] I admit I am somewhat surprised at your reference to an example from the history of religion... Do you read the Bible?

[Polozkov] I do, and I consider the Bible a panhuman cultural asset and, in addition, a mine of wisdom. My understanding of atheism in general is not marked out by bellicosity: In my view atheism is not a struggle against religion but a person's personal choice. To speak of the social role that the Orthodox Church can play in Russia's spiritual revival, to my eyes it is the CPSU's sole ally in the struggle to assert morality and against interethnic conflicts. In my opinion, everything is clear here, and only dogmatists can express surprise at such an attitude toward the Orthodox Church. Incidentally, it is, of course, a question not only of Orthodoxy but of all religions professed by citizens of the Russian Federation. On this question I perceive no deviation from party positions, for it is our duty to correct the distortions of the past.

[Salutskiy] At the Constituent Congress some delegates spoke of a confrontation between the capitals and the far reaches of Russia. How is the Moscow City Soviet chairman's statement to be viewed against this background?

[Polozkov] There really are some differences of approach, although we should not overemphasize them

but work toward mutual understanding. I personally can firmly state that no statements by the Moscow City Soviet chairman can shake my profound respect for the capital. I am from Kursk, I was born into a peasant family, and I spent my childhood during the very hard war and postwar years. And ever since my childhood years full of privations Moscow—like an image, like a symbol, as the capital—has been and still is for me a light in the window. I simply cannot perceive of Russia without Moscow. But, on the other hand, I also cannot personify Moscow only with certain particular individuals.

[Salutskiy] Ivan Kuzmich, Krasnodar Kray had long been linked with the name of Medunov, and you had, in point of fact, to "muck out the stables..."

[Polozkov] Yes, it was a difficult time, and evidently the time will come to speak about it. But today it is more important to say that a new, still more ungovernable mafia at once began to arise from the ruins of the mafia of the stagnation years. And it was the Kuban people's social demand that I counter it and wage a struggle against it—a demand that I strove to carry out. This evidently was not to everyone's taste—not only in the Kuban... But I fought heedlessly. And I can state with satisfaction that the Kuban Cossacks accepted me. Without this heartfelt joy, without human approval, life would be rather empty for me.

As you know, by the way, there has not been a single failure in the Kuban during the years of perestroyka. Not one! We have even managed to keep the kray from interethnic conflicts, although, as you know yourself, the Kuban is a land of 12 languages. Take the Timashevsk Agro-Industrial Association, which has become the prototype of an agrarian tomorrow. In collaboration with Europe they have set up fine farms and processing there. And people have begun to live very well. And this is the chief point. This is why inwardly I laughed at all sorts of "conservative" labels that they attached to me.

[Salutskiy] While working on the Central Committee, you guided Stavropol Kray...

[Polozkov] Yes, that was the case. At the time when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was working as first secretary there. I remember that when I was leaving to study at the Academy of Social Sciences, I telephoned Stavropol to say goodbye, we said thank-you to each other for the concerted joint work, and in addition I said: Well, fate is parting us, probably forever... But Mikhail Sergeyevich burst out laughing: Don't bet on it, he said. Mountains meet, still more so people. True, two years later I returned to the Central Committee. As soon as I had settled into my office, the telephone rang. It was Central Committee Secretary Gorbachev calling, and he remembered the conversation long before: You see, we meet again... At that time it was a great rarity for a Central Committee secretary to telephone an agent directly, since arrogant Brezhnevian subordination was observed.

And now we have occasion to work together for the third time, for the RSFSR Communist Party is a constituent part of the CPSU. For it is not some new party, as its ill-wishers now say, deliberately distorting the truth. What we are talking about is the Russian territorial organization of the CPSU.

[Salutskiy] Ivan Kuzmich, allow me to ask a question which many people consider almost the most difficult for you. How will your relations with the intelligentsia shape up?

[Polozkov] This is by no means the most complex question for me, for I am sure that I will find a common language with the intelligentsia because I have profound respect for it and realize that Russia's spiritual revival is inconceivable without its active participation. Whoever tries to drive a wedge between the RSFSR Communist Party and the intelligentsia is acting... unscrupulously.

But the problem is considerably broader here. I include in the concept of intelligentsia Russia's entire cultural stratum—in small and large cities and in remote rural areas where the ancient origins of the people's culture lie. The capital's creative intelligentsia is a very important constituent part of this unified, indissoluble stratum. The scientific, military, and party intelligentsia are not some isolated groups either, you know. Regardless of nationality, religion, and political views, we are all creators of our great spiritual culture.

It seems to me that the question is a different one. Owing to the laggardness of the social sciences, we have overlooked the fact that, as society has developed, the intelligentsia may long ago have turned from a stratum into an independent class with its own interests and requirements. Like the workers and peasants, it has a right to defend its class interests—this is perfectly natural and in order. But for some reason some people call the class interests of the intelligentsia panhuman, contrasting them with... class interests. In this connection I liked the Constituent Congress speech of Aleksandr Maltsev, a young philosopher from Gorkiy, who called himself a proletarian of brainwork. And now a recent fact: Cultural figures, like the miners, have declared a warning strike.

[Salutskiy] A market economy is on the agenda. What is your attitude toward the market?

[Polozkov] People's heads have been thoroughly befuddled on the question of the market. This is a huge, multifaceted question, and there is no possibility here of setting forth my position in detail. But in brief outline it is as follows. It is not a single or uniform market. There exists the consumer market or, in other words, the commodity market, and I see no obstacles to embarking without delay on its formation—for this it is necessary to give plants, collective farms, and state farms economic freedom. There exists the market for capital, and here too I see no serious objections to its introduction—for this it is necessary to remove all banking restrictions and to permit the free movement of funds among enterprises,

cooperatives, and institutes and, in general, among all bodies of economic activity. Neither of these markets is directly connected with the social structure of society, for they are, as it were, service mechanisms. In developed bourgeois countries such mechanisms have been brought to perfection, and there is no harm in our learning these economic subtleties from the capitalists.

The whole snag is the third kind of market—the labor market. Precisely this is associated with private ownership and hired labor, with unemployment, and, in the final analysis, with a departure from socialism—which will place us at the tail end of civilization, throw us back to the wild capitalism of the middle of the last century, and doom our children and grandchildren to the same social sufferings as the working people of developed capitalist countries endured for approximately 100 years. I would have a very circumspect attitude to the labor market, for it is a way back. Moreover, certain economists maintain that there is no acute need to introduce all the elements of a market at once... It is necessary to think everything through carefully and discuss it with the people.

This, briefly, is my position on this problem. It is only to be regretted that certain enthusiasts for a market argue about it according to the principle "Let's go for it!"

[Salutskiy] What are the first steps of the RSFSR Communist Party and its first secretary?

[Polozkov] History has not given us time to take our bearings, and we have had to set to work right away. However, with the very first step we have succeeded, in my view, in avoiding the standard by which newly created structures operate: They at once set about manning staffs and they gather cadres. For certain leaders, by the way, this is the most absorbing exercise... We have taken a different path: to be in no hurry with staff scheduling and not be distracted by these technical questions, but to resume the activity of the preparatory committee set up before the Russian conference. This committee did sound work, sensible, energetic people were selected for it and, moreover, they represent the whole of Russia and were chosen at party conferences. And it is important not to become detached from the grass roots. We will also involve in this work newly elected Central Committee members—this is one more channel of communication with the party masses. In short, we have adopted the policy of having the second stage of the congress prepared not by the central apparatus but by representatives of Russian party organizations. This is a principled step setting the tone for all our subsequent work.

What else?... Despite my heavy load during the first days, I got away to Bryansk to meet with workers in plants and to learn the people's mood and their assessment of the Constituent Congress. No, it does not coincide with the opinion of those strident mass media—people show a very lively interest and pin great hopes on the RSFSR Communist Party.

And, of course, I visited a Bryansk Oblast rayon which has suffered from the Chernobyl disaster. For us this is an open wound, our constant pain. Russia's communists, wherever they may live, will do everything to help to overcome the aftermath of the disaster. This is our great moral duty, and we will constantly sound the Chernobyl alarm.

[Salutskiy] And so the party has approached the 28th congress. How will the congress take place? What are your forecasts?

[Polozkov] It seems to me that on the eve of the congress certain political forces overdramatized the situation and created almost hysteria in society. By the way, such a thing has happened before—recall, for example, the intense heat before 25 February. Incidentally, I recently read in PRAVDA an interesting article entitled "Propaganda Terror." The article speaks of powerful, purposeful propaganda campaigns in the GDR press today which divert people's attention from resolving vitally important problems. A very interesting article which also sheds light on some of our customs today.

But let us return to the theme of the congress. Why should the situation not be overdramatized? Because the CPSU, as our congress showed, is quite strong, cohesive, and ready for renewal, to win the people's trust under conditions of a multiparty system. We have to really master methods of parliamentary struggle. There is no question of liquidating the party or changing its name. This is on the one hand. On the other, those who put an ultimatum to the CPSU and who are categorically opposed to democratic centralism also have nothing to fear. I know that the radical wing of the Democratic Platform intends to hold its own congress in September to form a new party, and if it is held I believe that the RSFSR Communist Party will send greetings to its political opponents. They will be able to create their own parliamentary faction. This is what a multiparty system and a truly democratic struggle for influence means. Communists, I repeat, are ready for this struggle—it is a part of our perestroyka. I cannot quite understand why the democrats of the "intransigent opposition," instead of working to create their own party, are fueling passions around the CPSU congress and threatening a split. In my opinion, they are wasting precious time. A loss of a sense of moderation is again being felt, and this is a portent of the reverse effect.

I am going to the 28th congress with a feeling of optimism. Communists now need endurance, calm, and inspiration. Less time to waste on polemics with those opponents who do not make it their aim to ascertain the truth but who try to drown the party in a swamp of logomachy. We have something to discuss and to argue about in a comradely, party-minded way. But the tactical task is not to let ourselves be drawn into fruitless debates. Every person is important to the party, however no one must be kept in the CPSU at the cost of fundamental concessions. I hope that the party's healthy

forces will be consolidated at the 28th congress, and precisely this is what ordinary communists expect.

[Salutskiy] Ivan Kuzmich, you remember that on the day you withdrew your candidacy for the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet I joked that you would now have to be elected first secretary of Russia's Communist Party. And this has happened. What is your chief, supraparty goal, so to speak? What is most important for you?

[Polozkov] When the interethnic conflicts began in the country, I thought with alarm about preventing fratricidal war in the Kuban—that concern prevailed over all my thoughts and was a persistent concern every day and every minute. Everything I did and all the decisions I adopted instinctively and subconsciously underwent this chief test: Does the danger of fratricidal war lessen or, on the contrary, increase? And I adopted only those decisions that accorded with the reply "lessen." Even to the detriment of immediate considerations.

As a compassionate person, this question is infinitely important for me from the humanist, moral, and panhuman viewpoint. But, as a politician, it acquires an additional philosophical aspect connected with the special features of our history. The blood and deaths of innocent people in peacetime are absolute categories before which all the reasons that led to tragedy are equal. We resolutely condemn the repression at the time of the Stalin personality cult. But if we allow neighbor to kill neighbor and representatives of one people to kill representatives of another people, does it make any difference to those killed whether they fell at the cruel hand of a tyrant or because of the weak will of power or because of the anarchy that has gripped the country? This is today's paramount political responsibility, by which history will appraise us. To prevent innocent victims at an abrupt and dangerous turning point in our history!—this is what I consider the supereme task of every politician on whom the development of events in the country depends even to a small degree. This approach must be the chief criterion in adopting decisions—we must all think now not about popularity, not about personal ambitions, not about the division of power.

Bloc of Leftist Forces Set Up in Leningrad

LD0507152290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0955 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Dmitriy Arkatovskiy]

[Text] Leningrad, 5 Jul (TASS)—Representatives of various youth formations with a socialist orientation have united into a new public organization—the Bloc of Leftist Forces. They have adopted a declaration signed by heads of sections of the Democratic Socialist Party of Russia, the Association of Free Anarchists, the Anarchist-Democratic Union, and secretary of Leningrad Oblast Committee of the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League]. The document says, among other things: "We, representatives of various political youth organizations of leftist orientation, realizing that the aggravation of the economic situation in the country is causing the people to become disappointed with the democratic reforms, and consequently is leading to the possibility of the restoration of an authoritarian state structure, consider it necessary that all youth forces supporting the ideals of freedom, social justice, and humanism should be united in the Bloc of Leftist Forces..."

As the TASS correspondent was told by one of the organizers of the bloc, its tasks include encouraging youth to participate in the work of local and regional soviets. The aim is that at the next elections, candidates from Leftist youth organizations should act as a single bloc.

According to preliminary figures, the bloc comprises about 5,000 persons.

Shostakovskiy Views Dropping Communism as Goal

PM2206112090

[Editorial Report] London BBC Television Network in English at 2130 GMT 19 June broadcasts in its "Newsnight" program a special report on the newly-formed Russian Communist Party. Participants include Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, a leader of the Democratic Platform. The following exchanges take place between Shostakovskiy and reporter David Sells. Shostakovskiy speaks in Russian with superimposed English translation.

[Shostakovskiy] Superficially, it's very democratic, and in essence it's the bureaucracy at work. Regional party committees have manipulated the elections, so there's a huge predominance of professional party officials among the delegates. It's on a scale that's never been seen before.

[Sells] The democratic platform meeting at the weekend decided to present its reform plans to both Russian conference and full congress. But anticipating inevitable rejection, they voted by a majority of 56 percent to split from the Communist Party after the congress. Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy is one of their leaders. He's rector of the Moscow Higher Party School, a party luminary who has seen the light. He's one of the 56 percent.

[Shostakovskiy] If this package is rejected by congress it'll inevitably mean many communists will leave the party and found a new organization. Some delegates will stay, whatever congress decides, but others are leaving right now before congress.

[Sells] And how did the rector of the party school see the future?

[Shostakovskiy] Multiparty democracy will inevitably come. Our aim is a closer link between government and people. And we should also drop communism as the goal of our party.

Democratic Platform Lacks Support in South Urals

LD0307190190 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 3 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk July 3 TASS—Supporters of the Democratic Platform in the Soviet Communist Party failed to establish their organisation in Chelyabinsk, southern Urals.

Slightly over 50 communists, residents of a city with a million population, gathered for a constituent conference. Only five communists responded to a call to be registered members of the city council from the Democratic Platform.

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to say whom they will represent: communists of Chelyabinsk, a regional centre, or themselves.

The conference was opened and conducted by Yevgeniy Tumanov, member of the Democratic Platform Coordinating Council and secretary of the party organisation at the Tsvetmetspetsenergo Trust.

He said that the trust's communists collected money and transferred it to the account of the Democratic Platform and that they share and support the platform's position.

One of the slogans voiced at the conference was to boycott decions made by the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and to begin setting up alternative party structures.

Communists who decided to leave the CPSU are insistently recommended to be in no hurry so that the Democratic Platform could claim a greater part of party property when it branches out of the CPSU.

Larisa Subbotina, a representative of the Popular Front, suggested that Democratic Platform members join the Civil Action Movement.

The majority of those present expressed a doubt of whether such a small number of people can make statements on behalf of the Chelyabinsk organisation. Nevertheless, such a merger took place.

The timid first steps by the Democratic Platform in the CPSU in the major industrial centre can be explained not only by "steeled unity" of local communists but also by their unawareness of the recent conference.

Yakutsk Conference Proposes Upgrading Republic

LD2906213490 Moscow World Service in Russian 0944 GMT 29 Jun 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] Participants in a conference that has just ended in Yakutsk have proposed altering the state status of the Yakut Autonomous Republic by making it a Union republic. They were discussing problems of self-management and self-financing in Yakutia. This republic in Siberia possesses immense natural wealth.

According to a report from the independent agency "INTERFAX" the conference worked out a concept for Yakutia's transition to full economic independence. It is based on the principle of the redistribution of the earnings of mining enterprises for the benefit of the budget of the republic, which, with autonomous powers, is a part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Kaliningrad Becomes Open to Foreign Tourists

LD0507170190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1002 GMT 5 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Excerpt] Kaliningrad, 5 July (TASS)—The Kaliningrad Town Soviet of People's Deputies today passed a decision proclaiming the town open to foreign tourism. This is the oblast center of the most westerly of Russia's oblasts, formed on part of the territory of the former East Prussia, and was transferred by the Potdam conference to the USSR and Poland. Throughout the postwar years it had the status of a closed town. [passage omitted]

Longer Suburban Trains To Ease Congestion

PM0507154990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Jul 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by V. Bakarinov and V. Gusev, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] Now a few words about the summer vacations. Some people are heading for the south, others, the more sensible ones, prefer to spend their vacations in Moscow Oblast. Why they are more sensible will become obvious from our report.

I have the misfortune to use the suburban electric train to Klyazma from the Yaroslavskiy Railroad Station at weekends. I said "misfortune" because all too often this spring and early summer trains on this line have been canceled, canceled without any explanation or apology from the railroad management.

[Correspondent] Transport problems, and especially suburban transport problems during the summer peak period, leave few people indifferent.

After all, suburban electric trains carry more than 4 million people daily to and from Moscow. At weekends you hear a lot of critical comments, and that is putting it mildly, comments which often lack parliamentary civility, from the participants of the great population migration which is called "going to the dacha."

Therefore it was a pleasure to observe the reactions of even the most suspicious skeptics to introduction of a new suburban electric train on the Kiev railroad branch.

As far as I understand, this new electric train is part of a large-scale program which is being implemented and implemented continually and consistently.

[Paristyy, Moscow Railroad chief, identified by caption] A program which was conceived at the beginning of the 12th Five-Year Plan envisaged the introduction of 14-car electric trains on the Moscow-Kiev Railroad. We have done our bit.

[Correspondent] Why on this branch?

[Paristyy] Because no additional main lines will be laid on this railroad during the 13th Five-Year Plan, in contrast to the Belorussian branch, the Gorkiy branch, the Kursk branch, and others. Instead, the traffic capacity of the Kiev branch is being increased by 17 percent.

[Correspondent] Yuriy Mikhaylovich, the transport problem is after all a very serious problem, especially for such a large city as Moscow. How do you see this, how can I put it, this contribution of the railroad workers to the solution of your transport problem?

[Luzhkov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, identified by caption] Moscow and Moscow Oblast are an integral region. They are linked by a great number of ties, economic ties, moreover, large numbers of people move around within our region, Muscovites and inhabitants of Moscow Oblast, and we must create comfortable conditions for them. But I would say that a great deal is being done for them not just by the railroad workers but also by the city authorities.

[Announcer] It would be a good thing, in my opinion, if the nice promises which we have heard from the Moscow Railroad chief could be backed up by a certain Japanese practice under which passengers are entitled to claim compensation, financial compensation, and relatively high compensation, to be paid by the railroad authorities, of course, if a train is canceled or subject to long delays. We would very much like the new trains mentioned by the Moscow Railroad chief not only to be longer—14 cars—but also to run on time at long last.

Sakhalin Railroad System To Undergo Review

PM2206131990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 20 Jun 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by V. Feoktistov, V. Shinkarev, identified by caption]

[Text] [Announcer] Viewers will recall that a few years ago a program for the development of Siberia and the Far East was widely publicized. Unfortunately, its implementation is lagging. There are many problems both of an objective and a subjective nature. They include, in particular, shortcomings and disruptions in the work of all types of transport.

This is precisely why Boris Yegorovich Panyukov, USSR minister of civil aviation, and Nikolay Semenovich Konarev, USSR minister of railways, visited the region in recent days.

[Correspondent] This is the first time in the last 26 years that the USSR minister of railways has visited Sakhalin. Nikolay Semenovich Konarev was accompanied by deputy ministers, chiefs of main administrations and ministry departments, and specialists from design, research, and sector institutes. [video shows minister and party alighting from train, walking along track, addressing a meeting of railroad workers, and being interviewed]

They visited the Vanino-Kholmsk rail-sea ferry crossing, familiarized themselves with track maintenance and the freightcar and locomotive pool of the island railroad, and met the collectives of the diesel locomotive and freightcar repair plant, the locomotive depot, Sakhalin Oblast leaders, and the local railroad branch.

What brought on this visit by such a large group of the top railroad leadership to Sakhalin?

[N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways, identified by caption] As you know, the party Central Committee, the government, and the Supreme Soviet are very concerned about the situation in the Far East. Ministries and departments have been criticized both at the [Supreme Soviet] session and the Congress [of People's Deputies] for dragging their feet as regards the implementation of the long-term program for the development of the Far East which has virtually ground to a halt. We railwaymen occupy a significant place in this program. We view concern for and attention to Sakhalin as being of particular importance. The time had come to subject all Sakhalin's bottlenecks to a radical review. We have done that with a view to compiling a fundamental program for reinforcing the capacity of the Sakhalin transport system and of the entire Far East Railroad, so that we may rely on these capacities for many years to come without running into difficulties.

On the other hand, we are aware that social issues have grown very acute in the Far East, in Sakhalin, and in Maritime and Khabarovsk Krays. All these industrial and social issues taken together will be subjected to a broad, fundamental, and specific examination at this itinerant session of the Ministry Collegium.

[Announcer] Important sessions are one thing, but it is crucial now for the decisions adopted by the leadership of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Ministry of Railways to gain the support of the new RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and the local authorities. Only then will they be implemented, rather than remaining merely on paper as has been the case in the past.

Kostroma Atomic Power Plant Construction Halted

LD1506204690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Text] The public opinion campaign in Kostroma Oblast to halt the construction of an atomic power station has ended in victory. The first session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies of the new convocation today adopted by a majority of votes a decision on this. The oblast soviet executive committee has been instructed to work out ways of making use of the construction base and the building workers.

The Kostroma Nuclear Electric Power Station was being erected in the immediate vicinity of a major rayon center, in a place where the ground was unsuitable because of its geological structure. No account was taken in the plan of ecological considerations. Only the insistence of people's deputies, of the State Committee for Nature Protection in Kostroma Oblast and the Committee for the Protection of the Volga brought this fact to public attention and averted another fateful mistake. The session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies addressed to the USSR Council of Ministers a request to heed its decision.

Rostov Oblast To Halt AES Construction

Decision Announced

LD3006094790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] A decision to cease construction of the Rostov nuclear power station [AES] has been adopted at the session of the Rostov Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

Situation Explained

PM0307093390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Vladimir But report: "Construction of Rostov AES To Halt"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—This decision was made at an extraordinary session of the Rostov Oblast Soviet.

Construction of the nuclear power station on the banks of the Tsimlyansk Reservoir has created a complex sociopolitical situation in Rostov Oblast.

People have been saying that the site of the station was chosen in violation of the basic regulations for the siting of AES's [nuclear electric power stations] and that the quality of construction does not guarantee that there will be no repetition of Chernobyl. People are demanding an independent scientific survey of the Rostov AES.

The decisions to halt construction of the AES were made at sessions of the Volgodonsk, Tsimlyansk, Semikarakorsk, and Rostov city soviets, and the Volgodonskiy and Bagayevskiy rayon soviets.

During the oblast session people with placards calling for construction to be halted and for no repetition of Chernobyl stood outside the building. Deputies permitted members of social formations taking part in the survey of the station to be present in the auditorium.

The oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] was instructed to determine together with the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry, and the Volgodonsk city soviet the possible options for remodeling the construction project in line with the oblast's power generation program and to take measures to utilize the workers and specialists released on power generation and sociocultural projects in the oblast.

The vote was taken by name and its results will be published in the local press.

Nakhodka Mayor Discusses New Airport Prospects

OW 1606094790 Tokyo KYODO in English 0921 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] Nakhodka, USSR, June 16 KYODO—The Soviet Union plans to open a commercial airport near the Siberian port of Nakhodka after the government designates it as the country's first free trade zone, Nikolay Kretsu, deputy mayor of the city, said Saturday.

Kretsu told KYODO NEWS SERVICE a blueprint of the project is being prepared by U.S.-Soviet joint venture dialog.

The plan calls for turning the existing military airfield in the suburbs of Nakhodka into a commercial airport.

Nakhodka is the only port in the Soviet Far East opened to foreign shipping.

Kretsu said the Soviet Government is expected to name Nakhodka a free trade zone within this year, and airport facilities will be completed a year later.

Construction of the airport will greatly improve access from Japan, which now takes at least two days either by air or ship.

Kretsu said the city government is studying incentive measures, including preferential tax treatment, to attract foreign enterprises.

He said foreign firms will be allowed to set up wholly-owned subsidiaries in the city although the capital ratio will be limited to 50 percent in principle.

Kretsu said more than 1,000 proposals have been submitted by foreign firms, mostly U.S. and South Korean. There were few approaches from Japanese enterprises, he added.

Among the U.S. proposals was a $5 billion project to develop tourism in the area, he said.

Kretsu expressed hope for the development of industries for the manufacture of consumer-related products such as foodstuffs and home appliances, tourism, and processing of lumber and other natural resources.

Black Sea Resorts Face Overcrowding, Pollution

PM0207150190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Dergachev article under the "Fact and Commentary" rubric: "The Black Sea Is Still Clean"]

[Text] Sochi—A report citing the French environmental organization Robin des Bois has appeared in the press and has somewhat clouded the opening of the bathing season on the Black Sea beaches.

The question which interests everyone is whether the beaches at Sochi can expect to receive barrels of the toxic waste secretly dumped at sea by order of the former Ceausescu government, some of which later surfaced on Turkish beaches during a storm.

Our correspondent met with R. Stepanova, deputy chairman of the Krasnodar Kray Soviet Executive Committee.

"I can reassure you: The Black Sea off our shores is still clean at the moment. We are constantly monitoring the sea water—its radioactivity is normal. We have checked the cesium and strontium content of fish caught specially for the purpose, and found nothing alarming. In my view, however, far more dangerous than these barrels is the threat posed by our own... sewage systems between Sochi and Anapa. The season had only just begun when we were immediately forced to close several beaches at Adler because of mishaps at effluent discharging stations. The situation at Gelendzhikskaya Bay is even worse. This jewel of our coast has effectively been turned into a cesspit: The low-capacity sewage treatment works cannot process even one-half of the polluted water being discharged into the bathing area. It is no accident that the incidence of acute dysentery last summer rose 20 times (!) at Gelendzhik. Storm drains are still being planned, but at the moment torrents of mud pour into the bay each time it rains..."

[Dergachev] "Raisa Petrovna, many people complain that the construction of the second section of the Tuapse-Adler railroad along the coast is causing beaches to disappear..."

[Stepanova] "Unfortunately that is so. According to figures from the 'Krasnodarberegozashchita' [coastline protection] association, almost one-half of the beaches in the 119 km coastal strip of greater Sochi have been destroyed because of it recently. They have been 'consumed' by support walls with concrete wave-suppression installations designed to protect the embankment against storms on the second section of the railroad now under construction. Admittedly, the Tuapse branch of the North Caucasus Railroad did agree to build wave-resistant beaches while carrying out this work, but it has forgotten to do so. An incomprehensible position. How can you compare the second track of a railroad with a national asset such as a beach?"

[Dergachev] "The hygiene and epidemiology service has a major complaint against the Sochi agrarian sector: Until last year the amount of pesticide used per hectare in Sochi was 50-100 percent higher than the kray average and, as is well known, this kray's 'indicator' is one of the highest in the country. How could that be tolerated?"

[Stepanova] "The agricultural people, who have 29 enterprises in Sochi, state that it is impossible to produce tomatoes, cucumbers, cabbage, or any other vegetables without using toxic chemicals. Such a huge resort cannot manage without vegetables. Vegetables could be imported from the Kuban steppes, but that means shipments of 300-350 km (!) just in one direction. It is simply essential to switch to environmentally clean production techniques right now.

"This is a special problem, but at the moment we are busy on operational questions—how to receive the 'tidal wave' of 13 million vacationers who will be coming to us this year. Our zone is receiving this workload because of the difficult political processes in the Baltic, Georgia, and other traditional vacation areas. However, our vacation areas are not limitless, and the kray's resorts are already on the brink of environmental catastrophe now because of the excessive load."

Russian Agricultural Academy Established

LD2206025990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jun (TASS)—A three-day meeting of agricultural scientists in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] has culminated in Moscow with the establishment of a Russian Academy of Agricultural Science. Forty-two academicians have been elected. The Academy's statutes have been adopted, and a Presidium and president have been elected. Academician G.A. Romanenko, who up to now has been chairman of the all-Russian branch of the all-Union "Lenin" Academy of Agricultural Science, was elected President. The president acquainted the delegates to the inaugural meeting with a programme for scientific support for the republic's agricultural industry.

Chikin Calls for No Change in Paper's Status

PM2906122590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jun 90 Single Edition p 4

[Speech by V.V. Chikin, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, at the 20 June evening sitting of the RSFSR Communist Party Congress under the general heading "Discussion of the Report 'With Responsibility for the Fate of Russia and the Whole Country'"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I would also like to say a few words about the situation with our newspaper. It was unfortunately proposed at the Congress of People's Deputies, at our colleagues' initiative, that our publication be viewed as the organ of soviets of people's deputies. I would like to explain that the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA was founded as a party organ from the very outset: It was set up by the party Central Committee in 1956, following the formation of the Central Committee Organizational Bureau for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. For many years it was the a newspaper of the party Central Committee. It has lately become the organ of three authorities.

But all publisher's rights belong to the party Central Committee, because it is published by the PRAVDA Party Publishing House using party money, and no other authorities have invested any funds at all; the staffing of the collective and the formation of the editorial collegium have also been the party's prerogative.

The editorial collective quite recently discussed the present situation and we now appeal to this congress with the request that the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA be treated as a party organ, because the image of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, as the party publication elucidating all aspects of life in the Russian Federation, has been in existence for more than three decades. The newspaper has formed its own readership, and this seems particularly important now, with the formation of the Russian Communist Party.

There is no doubt that Russian soviets need their own publication. Such a publication must be formed. [passage omitted]

New Newspapers on Sale in Volgograd

LD2306050490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 23 Jun 90

[Summary] A new newspaper goes on sale today in Volgograd. The 12-page weekly is the organ of the Volgograd Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. A competition has been organized to decide its name. next week, another new newspaper—GORODSKIYE VESTI [City News]—goes on sale in Volgograd. It is the organ of the city Soviet of People's Deputies.

Western Republics

Odessa Oblast Deputies Refute Territorial Claims

LD0507151790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 5 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Georgiy Vorotnyuk]

[Excerpts] Odessa, 5 July (TASS)—Deputies in Odessa Oblast Soviet have refuted territorial claims against the Ukraine made recently by certain parliamentary representatives and a number of public organizations in the neighboring union republic of Moldova. [passage omitted]

A statement by the deputies, addressed to to the Moldova Supreme Soviet, stresses that the territory of Ukraine is not subject to revision or redivision. Any territorial claims are fraught with interethnic tension, destabilization, and acute conflicts, aggravating the already tense situation in the country. The call for territorial redivision threatens a split along national lines within a unique community of people who, for many years have lived and worked side by side in harmony in the region, the document notes. Appealing to Moldovan deputies to heed good sense, the Odessa Oblast Soviet at the same time gave assurances that it guaranteed to fully ensure all constitutional rights and the socioeconomic, cultural, and national development of the oblast's population.

New Ukraine Communist Party Politburo Listed

LD0507163490 Kiev LITERATURNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 28 Jun p 1

[Report: "Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee elected at the 28th Ukraine Communist Party Congress was held 22 June. It elected the Politburo of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee in the following composition:

S. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee (elected by the congress);

I. Grintsov, secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee ;

B. Gromov, commander of the Kiev military area;

V. Ivashko, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR];

P. Kozacheko, team leader from the Kiev "Bolshevik" works;

L. Kravchuk, second secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee;

P. Kuknerik, coal miner from Lugansk Oblast;

V. Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR;

V. Ostrozhinskiy, secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee;

A. Savchenko, secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee;

M. Sobchuk, collective farm chairman from Kiev Oblast.

The secretariat of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has been formed. It includes:

S. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee;

L. Kravchuk, second secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee;

I. Grintsov, V. Ostrozhinskiy, A. Savchenko, secretaries.

New Ukraine Party Politburo Member Elected

LD0507155890 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 27 Jun 90 p 1

[Excerpt] Petro Kozachenko, secretary of the party organization at a workshop of the "Bolshevik" works in Kiev, was elected member of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee at the 28th congress of communists of Ukraine. At the first plenary meeting of the newly-elected central committee, he was elected member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Gurenko Backs New Bloc of Ukrainian Deputies

LD0507181790 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] A statement adopted by groups of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] people's deputies has been published. They notified the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet about the creation of a new bloc of Ukrainian SSR people's deputies, consisting of party and non-party members, which will be called: For Soviet Sovereign Ukraine.

The statement says that during the one and half months of the work of the session no parliamentarian unity has been achieved and not much of constructive work attempted. Instead, confrontation between deputy groups is escalating. Let us quote: The open disrespect toward other parliamentarians, humiliation of their dignity, obstructions on the part of certain deputies and groups do not promote the efficiency of our efforts, the prestige of the republic's parliament, and the attainment of constructive consensus. Impermissible from the legal point of view and unacceptable for civilized society are the acts committed with regard to deputies by certain participants in unauthorized pickets outside the building of the Supreme Soviet.

Further, the statement notes that in the session hall there exists a group of deputies who are under various excuses pushing matters toward the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and holding new elections. Owing to these circumstances and being aware of the responsibility for taking the republic out of the crisis situation and also for the workability and prestige of the parliament, 239 deputies have united into a deputy group of party and non-party members.

On behalf of this group the statement was signed by Stanislav Gurenko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee.

Ukrainian 'Rukh' Drops 'Perestroyka' From Title

PM0407141790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Jul 90 First Edition p 1

[Correspondent Colonel A. Polyakov dispatch under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Are They Giving Up 'Perestroyka'?"]

[Text] Kiev—An event occurred in Kiev a few days ago which, some local mass media believe, will substantially influence the future political life of the republic. Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] held its Grand Council, at which a report was delivered by its Chairman I. Drach. All primary organizations of the movement were instructed to revise the formulation of the program course, singling out as paramount the task of restoring the Ukraine's state independence and struggling for a democratic parliamentary republic. They are also instructed to change the organization's name as well, calling it henceforth "The Ukrainian People's Movement," deleting the words "for Perestroyka." A. Kotsyuba, a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputy, presented his version of a concept for the Constitution of a so-called Ukrainian Soviet People's Republic, which the Grand Council members studied.

It must be said that the amendment of the course and the change of "Rukh's" name is not accidental. The latest mass events organized by the movement no longer generated any special enthusiasm among inhabitants of Kiev and the republic. People are tired of rallies. Many realize that the cause cannot be promoted by words, it is necessary to work strenuously, and many of the annual plan indicators are under under threat of being wrecked. The new name, new aims, and new draft laws, and the references to the fact that the Ukraine today is almost the most "rightwing" of republics are an attempt to endow the movement with new energy. Time will show what it will give to people.

Moscow Under Fire at Ukrainian Congress

PM0407074190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 90 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov report: "To Restore People's Faith. Notes From 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Kiev—It was clearly visible to the whole hall that the woman at the rostrum was agitated. Indeed, she herself acknowledged this at once. But she spoke sincerely and from a pure heart about what is most important and essential. And an audience which was strict toward violators of the standing orders allowed I. Godovanets, a lessee from the Kutuzov kolkhoz [collective farm] in Zhitomir Oblast, to spend almost twice the allotted time at the rostrum.

"The time has passed for polished speeches prepared to dictation from above, speeches which always said not what needed to be said but what they wanted to hear from us," she said. "That was a huge, unforgivable mistake for which we are paying today. What they did not want to hear in comfortable offices we are hearing today in the squares and stadiums. It is time, dear party workers, to wake from our slumbers and get down to work in earnest, and not to slobber over the word 'perestroyka' like a drunk slobber over his last ruble. For no speeches, banners, or appeals will get things moving. But lively words, real contact with people, and real concrete action will be able to restore our confidence and faith in our party."

Many who spoke later alluded to the kolkhoz member's speech, which was no accident. It reflected everything the delegates had brought to the Ukrainian Communist Party Congress. The speakers, with rare exceptions, spoke not only harshly but in a deeply reasoned way, trying to find the most rational ways out of the prevailing situation. There were many proposals, some of them even mutually exclusive, and the sharpest assessments of the Central Committee's activity over the reporting period were given, although these were not entirely fair.

N.I. Salyuk, a driver at Krasilov Motor Vehicle Enterprise 16841 in Khmelnitskaya Oblast, stated that, in his opinion, the Communist Party has now been effectively handed over to be torn to pieces by every kind of renegade... He believes that the blame for this lies above all with the leaders of the CPSU Central Committee. Everything we have done over the five years of perestroyka has been a complete mistake. The battle against unearned income has given rise to legitimized speculation everywhere, and the battle against drunkenness has increased bootlegging. Pseudodemocracy has led to rallies, strikes, and ethnic strife.

This delegate's subjective statement was immediately exploited by "Democratic Platform" representatives for their own purposes. Ye. Kushnarev, a representative of the Kharkov City Soviet of People's Deputies, at once demanded the floor and began scaremongering: A right-wing danger hung over the congress.

But this met with no support in the hall. A. Mudryy, leader of a team of fitters and assembly workers at the Dnepropetrovsk Metallurgical Equipment Plant, commented from the rostrum on this statement as follows:

"I cannot answer the following question for myself: When certain deputies at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session made crude and insolent attacks on V.I. Lenin, why did Comrade Kushnarev, Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputy and delegate to the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress, not even nod in Ilich's defense? And why on the other hand did he literally fly into hysterics when a worker expressed not even criticism but a timid remark about M.S. Gorbachev? Is our general secretary again outside the scope of criticism, in a forbidden zone? He should not stick conservative labels on us and frighten the congress with the right-wing threat. We should all carefully investigate what the threat to the party is and where it originates."

This theme could be seen in almost all the speeches. For instance, the party committee secretary at Lugansk Oblast's Ilich Mine believes that the exodus to the soviets of party committee leaders of various ranks presents a threat to the party. "No party is as insistent and purposeful in handing over power as our party is."

A tried and tested target for those who like to find the source of the threat is usually the mass media. The Ukrainian Communist Party Congress was no exception to this rule. B. Shigontsev, secretary of a Mariupol territorial party organization, indiscriminately accused the press of engaging in denigration, which, he claimed, has not been stopped by anyone in either the Central Committee or the Politburo. A little later, the accusation became more specific. One of the congress delegates did not like a report entitled "Around the Congress" published by PRAVDA UKRAINY, although there was nothing seditious about the piece. The speaker demanded an explanation from the editor, and, to an unfriendly clamor from the audience, A. Zonenko, a veteran of Ukrainian party journalism, had to mount the rostrum to explain the paper's position. It seemed the question was closed, but when A. Zonenko was returning to his seat, he was unceremoniously stopped in the aisle by a delegate—I. Trushlyakov, director of the Nikolayev transformer plant. A debate had to be opened with a microphone in the auditorium. The irate administrator began to recall the insults hurled at him by pickets on his way to the congress and to reproach the paper for not writing about this. At this point shouts were heard from various seats: "Dismiss the editor! Fire him!" The credentials of those voting in favor were already being brandished over their heads... S. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, had to explain that a study of the circumstances of the case had to precede any decision. Academician B. Paton, who was in the chair, calmed the hubbub in the hall only with difficulty. And only then was V. Sotnichenko, first secretary of Nosovskiy Raykom [rayon committee], able to remind the delegates that PRAVDA UKRAINY espouses firm party and Leninist positions and always speaks out in a principled and consistent fashion. We will add for our own part: Which is why it is systematically attacked by Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] activists.

Of course, you could regard what occurred as an annoying accident caused by excessive emotional strain after five days of sessions. But this would be a simplistic interpretation. Unfortunately, even at a forum like this some people have to find at all costs a culprit, or better still an enemy, in order to explain our troubles and miscalculations and to justify at the same time their own shortcomings.

For some reason few frank admissions were heard: "I am to blame and ready to take the responsibility!" "We

blundered, call us most strictly to account!" No, the pronoun "they" was more commonly used. And "they" are the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, Gorbachev, Ryzhkov, Yakovlev, Medvedev, and others. The list of local leaders criticized at the congress is considerably shorter. And oblast chiefs were not even mentioned at all. You might think that all the mistakes, omissions, blunders, and failures which are generally acknowledged to have brought about a critical situation happened without the participation and even despite the actions of the local authorities.

More than 300 delegates took part in the discussion of the reports at the congress. The range of of problems touched upon was wider than ever before. A particularly great deal was said about the role and place of communists in perestroyka processes.

"The party's role is not being felt in the work of the current session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, in which communists make up more than 80 percent of the deputies, its members are divided," V. Krasnozhon, a shipbuilder at Nikolayev's "Okean" shipbuilding plant, believes. "The Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party should call together the communist deputies and demand constructiveness, discipline, and mutual respect. After all, the session is effectively marking time while deputies, including many communists, merely carp, defame everything Soviet, and seek and excuse to retard the progress of the session and to drive it into an impasse. But people expect changes for the better. Are deputies not troubled by the fact that management organs are almost totally paralyzed, and even the positive elements that we had in the past have been lost."

V. Sekretaryuk, first secretary of the Lvov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Committee], suggested looking at the participation of party members in the soviets in a somewhat different context:

"Lvov communists frankly admitted their defeat in the election, and supported the new oblast soviet of people's deputies. But this in no way means that we agree with the statements of individual deputies about the exclusivity of the western region and its special political influence on the whole of the Ukraine, with the population of the western oblasts being set against that of the eastern oblasts. Some of our newly elected deputies are, in their own opinion, an example of 'outstanding advocates of pluralism and democracy.' But if you try to disagree with them, they will shut your mouth just as effectively as the party bureaucracy did during the period of stagnation. Unfortunately, some people are following the worst examples of our past, a 'witch hunt' is beginning, psychological pressure is being put on communist leaders, offensive labels are being stuck on the CPSU, and people are being provoked into leaving the party. Instances of intimidation and threats to communists are taking place."

It is gratifying that much was said at the congress about youth problems, and about the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] as the party's reserve. Dwelling on the social base of the CPSU, A. Matviyenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee, stressed that only when a political force rests on a powerful social stratum is it not threatened with failure. We must regain the trust of workers and peasants because in essence it is essentially to them above all that the Communist Party can belong. The road of reunification will not be easy. It sounds paradoxical, but I repeat: the reunification of the communist movement with the workers movement, which is increasingly gaining strength. We must travel this road, but we will not overcome it unless we seriously concern ourselves with the party's cadre potentiality and its intellectual level.

Reviewing numerous aspects of Ukrainian culture, the congress paid special attention to its spiritual and ideological content. I. Boris, main director of the Ivan Franko Theater in Ivanovo-Frankovsk, spoke about this with feeling:

"Today we must say frankly that, unfortunately, we had many works which brought rank, appointments, and rewards. As a rule these 'masterpieces' of socialist realism have not withstood the test of time, becoming so much artistic junk. The artist's conscience—this is the main instrument by which society's blood pressure is measured today. The communist Yaroslav Galan died in 1949 in Lvov. His last words were: All my life I did what I could, what I was able to, but I never tried to make a deal with my conscience, I never sought compromises. Therefore I consider myself an internationalist in conscience and a Leninist in spirit. This is my life's credo..."

The 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress appealed to all the republic's communists and to the Ukrainian people to consolidate on the platform of perestroyka and to create stability in society. And to ensure the genuine renewal of life through joint labor and the conscientious and honest fulfillment of their civil duty.

An organizational plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee under the chairmanship of Central Committee First Secretary S.I. Gurenko elected the Central Committee Politburo, L.M. Kravchuk as Central Committee second secretary, and I.G. Grintsov, V.E. Ostrozhinskiy, and A.P. Savchenko as secretaries.

Supreme Soviet Deputies Visit Ukraine Garrisons

LD2006172990 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 20 Jun 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Kiev June 20 TASS—A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies—members of the Committee for Defence and State Security Affairs—headed by Committee Deputy Chairman Valeriy Ochirov arrived in

Dnepropetrovsk, the Ukraine, today to familarise themselves with the living conditions of troops and families of officers and NCO's deployed here after their return from East European countries.

"On Tuesday we visited the Tula and Gorkiy garrisons of the Moscow Military District," Valeriy Ochirov told TASS, "our delegation will also visit some garrisons in the Kiev, Belorussian and Baltic military regions and some Soviet troops temporarily located in Czechoslovakia and Hungary".

According to Ochirov, the Soviet troop withdrawal gave rise to serious problems, especially for the families of Soviet officers. Most of them have no housing in the Soviet Union. Jobs for their wives and school and kindergarten accommodations for their children are also difficult to find.

Ochirov said the delegation from the committee would chart major directions for solving the problems and draw the attention of local party and government bodies to the needs and requirements of the families of servicemen arriving at their new destinations.

Ivano-Frankovsk Region Holds Heroes Day

LD2705224690 Kiev International Service in English 2000 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] [Announcer] A regional hero day has been held in the town of Ivano-Frankovsk. It was initiated by the city organization of the Ukrainian Republican Party. We phoned to get in touch with a participant of the holiday, Volodymyr Rotaru:

[Rotaru in Ukrainian with superimposed English translation] Hero's Day is held to mark the birth and death days of the heroes of the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. The city organization of the Republican Party decided to mark these days at one time. Present at the celebrations were about 3,000 people. The holiday was opened by a meeting. The column with blue and yellow banners marched across the central park of the city. Then there was a meeting at which the speakers spoke about the history of the Ukraine and biographies of its outstanding people. [words indistinct]

[Announcer] And what was the attitude of the regional soviet of people's deputies to this holiday? Well, answering this question, Volodymyr Rotaru said the following: there were no claims [complaints] on the part of the authorities. [passage indistinct] We plan to mark this holiday [word indistinct] annually. The city organization of the Republican Party also proposes that it should be marked throughout the Republic [word indistinct] on the entire territory of the Ukraine, said Volodymyr Rotaru.

Khmelnitskiy Holds Ecological Meeting 27 May

LD2705223490 Kiev International Service in English 2000 GMT 27 May 90

[Text] An ecological meeting was held today in the city of Khmelnitskiy. Taking part in it were residents of this city and the entire region, because the question on shutting down the Khmelnitskiy nuclear power station evokes concern on the part of all people of the region. People's attitude to the nuclear power plant can be well illustrated by the multithousand meetings; picketing of the project; refusal of the (Dovhuny) cement factory to supply its product to the construction of the nuclear power station; hunger strikes. As is known, the 15 people from Khmelnitskiy today suspended their hunger strike. However, the strikers' protest continues.

Today dozens of large industrial enterprises in the town of Khmelnitskiy, and the region, announced a two-hour-long warning strike. A coordinating strike committee has been set up and a plan of actions worked out. The people of Khmelnitskiy region demand that the Ministry of Nuclear Power Engineering give a written confirmation of a moratorium on the construction of the nuclear power plant.

'Moldovan' Front's Opposition to Draft Deplored

PM0507144590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jul 90 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent Colonel V. Gavrilenko report under the rubric "Direct Line": "Appeals to Boycott the Army?"]

[Text] Kishinev—I have before me a number of documents adopted at the recent Second Congress of the MPF [Moldovan People's Front]. They are addressed both to its own members and, in the form of appeals, to the republic's parliament.

And so, from the program in which the MPF sets its aim of "achieving the state independence of the Romanian territories to the east of the Prut annexed by the USSR in 1940 and creating a rule-of-law state—the Romanian Republic of Moldova." An explanation about the provenance of this name is provided in the resolution "On the Republic's Appellation": "The MPF believes that the republic's present official appellation does not fully accord with the ethnopolitical reality or the aspirations of our people..."

Once again a few lines from the program: "The MPF believes that no treaty can be signed between the Moldovan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the USSR without eliminating all the consequences of the act of 28 June 1940, namely:

"The removal from Moldovan territory of the military units of occupation and the sociopolitical structures imposed by Moscow in 1940, the KGB, the CPSU, and others;

"The annulment of the 2 August 1940 resolution on the formation of the Moldavian SSR;

"The return of the Romanian territories arbitrarily transferred to Ukrainian jurisdiction."

And here is the resolution "On the Status of the Soviet Army on Moldovan Territory": "The Soviet Army entered the Romanian territory between the Prut and the Dnestr 28 June 1940 as a force of aggression of the totalitarian Soviet regime and continues to be an army of occupation—as was recognized by the parliament of the Republic of Moldova in its 23 June resolution on a political and juridical assessment of the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty and the additional secret protocol of 23 August 1939 and their consequences for Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina.

"The MPF supports that resolution and believes that the presence of Soviet Army units on Moldovan territory, beginning 28 June 1940, has no legal grounds and does the indigenous people considerable harm of a political, economic, ecological, and psychological nature. For 50 years units of that army have been using Moldovan territory and airspace to the detriment and against the will of the people.

"...On the basis of the aforesaid the MPF puts to the republic's parliament and government a proposal:

"to stop the activity of military commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense on the republic's territory and also material and financial support for them;

"to annul the corresponding articles of the Moldavian SSR Criminal Code which envisage punishment for persons refusing to perform compulsory military service;

"to oblige executive committees at all levels not to participate in the draft of young men from the republic into the Soviet Army's ranks, starting in the fall of 1990."

I do not wish here to comment on anything, still less to enter into polemics with the authors of these documents—that probably ought to be done less hastily, and in a tone different from that of the documents themselves. But I will speak of my feelings aroused on reading them. They are feelings of bitterness and bewilderment. Probably not everything in the centuries-old history of the neighboring—Romanian and Russian—peoples is so simple, indeed it is very complex, and who knows whether there has been more that is good or that is bad... But this is certainly no reason now, in our time, to toy with insults and make peremptory judgments and assessments of it. In addition, the resolutions drawn up by the congress are addressed to the republic's parliament. And not just with the wish that they be taken into consideration but as a guide for action. It would be possible simply to regret this, if we could disregard the fact that a considerable number of deputies in the republic parliament are MPF members...

Caucasus

Yerevan Demonstrators Demand Actions on NKAO

NC0507122490 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 4 Jul 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A group of citizens are taking part in a sit-in demonstration in front of the republic's Council of Ministers building. The demonstration started on 1 July. The following slogans on their placards reveal the motives behind the demonstration: "Open the roads to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]", "One nation, one national problem, one struggle", "The NKAO is the path to independence", "There cannot be independence for Armenia and the Armenian people without the NKAO."

The demonstrators demanded that the republic's government finance enterprises in the NKAO and include them in the republic's financial balance sheet. They also demanded that measures be taken to internationalize the NKAO problem and that the Armenian government unreservedly implement the responsibilities assigned to it by the 1 December 1989 decision of the Armenian Supreme Soviet in order to bring about the real reunification of Armenia and the NKAO.

The demonstrators declared that the protest will continue until the government expresses readiness to seriously deal with the questions raised and take practical measures in this direction.

[Another item on the same newscast reported that the demonstrators belong to various Armenian public organizations and associations such as: Free Armenia, National Independence Party of Armenia, Unification, Labor and War Veterans Association for Struggle Against Genocide, and the Society for the Protection of the Armenian History. Representatives of an electrical products factory in Yerevan are also present.]

Shatalin Opposes Flight Restrictions to NKAO

NC0507120190 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] The question of ensuring an air link between Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] continues to distress both the pilots and the passengers who are forced to suffer at the airports.

As is already known, Major General Safonov, the former [as heard] commandant of the state of emergency in NKAO, had prescribed a maximum limit of seven flights per day. At present, this number of flights is insufficient.

Recently, we had the opportunity to see a letter written by Shatalin, commander of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops, which bore the serial number 8/15. The letter indicates that it is not possible to prescribe the exact number of flights from Yerevan to Stepanakert and

that Maj. Gen. Safonov has no authority to determine the number of flights. This statement requires no further elucidation. Nevertheless, the actions of Safonov confirm that he oversteps the powers vested in the military commandant of the oblast.

At present, nearly one thousand passengers have tickets but cannot fly to Artsakh [NKAO]. Nearly 30 additional flights are required to transport all of them, said Eduard Badalyan, acting chief of Yerebuni Airport. The Armenian pilots could have solved that problem had it not been for the malevolence of Gen. Safonov and the Azerbaijani Organizational Committee in NKAO which is chaired by Polyanichko.

Army Daily Reflects on Transcaucasus Violence

PM2606125190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jun 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy under the rubric "Transcaucasus: The Political Situation": "Sealed Border?"]

[Text] Today the situation that has arisen on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan is often compared to communicating vessels. Any incident on one "side" of the conflict immediately causes a reciprocal reaction on the other. To me personally, the comparison to a labyrinth is closer. The more a traveler there starts to rush about, yield to emotions, and lose the capacity for sober thinking, the further he gets from a means of escape.

At the rally attended by many thousands of people held 15 June in Theater Square in Yerevan sharp criticism was again leveled at the union mass media for "engaging in anti-Armenian propaganda." Not only newspapers, radio, and television, but also Major General V. Safonov, commandant of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, came under fire for the same reason. But is the criticism being laid at the right door? Who has questioned, where, and when the Armenian people's industriousness and high culture, their peaceableness and ability to share their last crust of bread with their neighbor at a difficult moment?

I do not wish to repeat the generally banal truism about the impermissibility of juggling with other people's fates beneath the flag of the "great national idea." But the people who on 11 June in a pasture in Azerbaijan's Kelbadzharskiy Rayon killed a village shepherd, wounded his two sons, and drove a flock of sheep and herd of cows onto Armenian territory, I am sure, have neither the moral, nor the human, nor, so to speak, the god-given right to lay down the law on behalf of the Armenian people. It would seem like blasphemy coming from their lips.

Four days later militants opened fire on the Azerbaijani village of Kyzylgadzhely in Kazakhskiy Rayon, engaging in a firefight with an internal forces subunit. This was also in the name of the whole people, who are tired of the orgy of crime and of the fact that their own government together with organs of law and order is unable to establish order in the republic and halt the growth of violence. It is essentially about this that the central press is writing and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs communiques are reporting today. The displeasure of many Yerevan inhabitants at the fact that many of the militants, chiefly young people, are still concentrated in the city instead of working in the disaster zone to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake is also perfectly understandable.

Today it is generally becoming increasingly difficult to tell who is aligned with which armed grouping, what their views are, and in whose name they pull their assault rifle's trigger in the border areas. For instance, one Private Yu. Kashirin, whom several civilians tried to forcibly bundle into a Zhiguli car at a parking lot in Yerevan at around 1600 hours 15 June, would surely like to know which wing of the APM [Armenian Pannational Movement] or Armenian National Army the raiders belong to. Fortunately the soldier did not become a hostage and fought them off, sustaining minor head injuries.

The APM leaders believe that the solution lies in the struggle against disorder and vacillation in their ranks (which, incidentally, many criminal elements have infiltrated), in the subordination of all armed detachments to a combined headquarters, and in the creation of an "Armenian National Guard." The new structure must be subordinated in turn to the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Defense Council. A list of detachments has now been published and presented to the local leadership, but it is not clear how it is possible to come under the government's guardianship under the aegis of the law while possessing illegally obtained or, to be more accurate, piratically seized military equipment and ammunition. What are we supposed to do now—wait for opposing amateur guards to appear in the neighboring republic?

The neighbors have taken a different course, though. The other day the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet adopted and has already published a resolution "On Ensuring the Safety of Citizens Living in Azerbaijan's Border Areas With Armenia." It relates to the life and tranquillity of 154 Azerbaijanian villages. It has been decided to declare a state of emergency along the whole length of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border and to notify the USSR Supreme Soviet and the country's president of this. It is planned to strengthen the protection of installations in the border strip and to close the border sections where militant infiltration is most frequent. Procedures for entry into the republic from the Armenian side are being tightened up, including checks on documents and inspections of personal effects and vehicles. Curfew areas will be imposed in zones where the state of emergency is in effect. The resolution refers the question of assigning appropriate subunits and material and technical resources to the Defense Ministry, the KGB, and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The documents ask the USSR president to take decisive measures to protect

Azerbaijan's sovereignty, disband armed formations in the neighboring republic, and ensure peace on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia.

I am sure that our president takes a close interest in this peace. As, incidentally, we all do. No matter what region of the country interethnic enmity flares up in, it is our common pain. But is the president's will really a panacea for problems and grievances accumulated over the decades? Peoples who have lived side by side for centuries, governments, elders, cultural figures, and deputies as elected representatives of the people must themselves meet each other halfway. Neither a harsh state of emergency, nor a host of even the fairest decisions, resolutions, and laws adopted at the highest level can replace this dialogue. Our troubled time has shown that the truth, cleansed of ambition and mutual recrimination, lies here and only here.

How simple it is, it turns out, to declare a sealed border. And yet how difficult it is to learn to keep the door open to peaceful existence with one's neighbor on the same Transcaucasian soil.

Chief Discusses Armenian National Army Goals

90US1095A Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 9 Jun 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Razmik Vasilyan, chief of the Armenian National Army, by GARUN editor Meruzhan Ter-Gulanyan and KOMSOMOLETS editor Vartan Grigoryan, on the eve of the 20 May elections; place not specified: "Razmik Vasilyan: 'To Subordinate the Army to the Parliament'"]

[Text] **Every living creature has a sacred right to self-defense. A people's militia is the implementation of this right at moments in history when the laws of civilization are unable to defend the honor and the very life of the people. This is why the creation of the first armed detachments to resist raids on villages along the border one year ago was received by all people with satisfaction: Violence has to be met with force, the nation should be capable of defending itself! It was believed that all of these detachments were unified under the same command, and the name "Armenian National Army" was indicative... Suddenly, it became known that here and there "Armenian National Army soldiers" had wronged the people, stolen cars, disarmed militia and military personnel, and in general had inflamed the situation. However, had it really been them or someone masquerading as them? This is how the idea appeared of asking the person best informed about this to provide explanations, as well as to clarify some of the other issues of interest to the public. Unfortunately, recent tragic events delayed the publication....**

In all honesty, we were not completely certain that a conversation between the editors of the republic youth publications Meruzhan Ter-Gulanyan (GARUN) and Vartan Grigoryan (KOMSOMOLETS) and Chief of the Armenian National Army (ANA) Razmik Vasilyan would provide answers to all questions of interest, primarily because people "in uniform" always have a multitude of "but," "cannot do," "this is not the procedure," and "not to be divulged." However, the very first answer of R. Vasilyan sounded like a declaration to which he adhered throughout the entire conversation. The ANA chief stressed: "We have no secrets from the people and especially our newspapers, because everything we do, we do for the people." The first question was followed by others.

[Grigoryan] There is the apprehension that the army (ANA) is not independent and may fall into "someone else's" hands, serve specific political forces, and carry out certain "assignments."

[Vasilyan] Never! We are prepared to listen to anyone, we are responsive to all kinds of opinions, but we do not report to anybody. As far as "influences" are concerned, from the first day the ANA was created I proposed that all political parties and organizations delegate two people each to the military council of the national army. However, this was not done or, more precisely, everybody wanted to have influence over the army. If we are a nation, and if we want to be independent, we need a national army first of all. However, the army should not be subordinated to one political party. Our program in this matter is that the army should only be subordinated to the parliament. I have been fighting to ensure this to this day. As far as the action in front of the city committee of the party is concerned, we took part in it because we considered some of the points of the ultimatum issued correct (in particular, with regard to the elections, because personally I can see that some unworthy people will end up in the parliament having taken advantage of the situation). There are very good members of parliament in its current composition, but at the same time some are advancing... primarily, the mafia (the conversation took place on the eve of the 20 May elections—editorial note).

[Ter-Gulanyan] I am sure that such people will not end up in the parliament.

[Grigoryan] I am not that sure.

[Vasilyan] Neither am I. I wish this would be the case, but I am afraid that they will not let healthy forces work in the parliament, and the same chaos will continue in our republic...

[Grigoryan] Perhaps, it is not worthwhile to trouble still more the already troubled waters (of our political situation), but it is worthwhile to let them settle in order to see clearly who is who?

[Vasilyan] What would you say about some candidates being forced to withdraw, and this being done under the threat of weapons?

The ANA has not nominated (and does not have) a single candidate. After I was released, representatives came from the most varied localities with suggestions to nominate me as a candidate. However, my conviction is that

if you want to accomplish something for your nation you do not necessarily have to be in the parliament.

[Grigoryan] Have you made mistakes before? Are you aware of them?

[Vasilyan] I see errors in our activities only from the professional, military point of view, mainly due to the lack of specialists.

I believe that there have been very few general mistakes. We have tried to correct them.

[Grigoryan] Do you mean to say that the armed people who steal the cars of citizens and enterprises, get involved in shoot-outs with each other, mistreat the population, and commit other acts of lawlessness are not ANA members?

[Vasilyan] Absolutely! These are bandits in the employ of the mafia, who exist for it and for its money. The ANA is first of all an organization held together by an idea, the aspiration to defend the motherland against external enemies. Not one of its members would allow himself to commit acts of lawlessness or mistreat his fellow citizens.

[Ter-Gulanyan] I would like to begin our conversation from a distant point, from the program of creating the ANA and its current status.

[Vasilyan] The ANA was created in April (24th) of last year when an oath ceremony was organized. We began to enlist personnel from the day of the oath. However, at a rally held on 4 August it was resolved to consider this the day of its founding.

[Ter-Gulanyan] Who heads the ANA? Are there professional military men?

[Vasilyan] Yes, there is a military council.

[Grigoryan] Do you have a political program or is only an organizational program at issue?

[Vasilyan] Our policy is, primarily, to ensure national self-defense.

[Ter-Gulanyan] Does the army pursue purely political goals?

[Vasilyan] No, we reject purely political activities, though the creation of an army as such is already politics in its own right.

[Grigoryan] In a word, you have no plans to become a political force?

[Vasilyan] No; for example, my personal goal is to surrender my position when the time comes to some general or marshal, that is, a professional, and switch to a well-organized and strong professional army.

[Ter-Gulanyan] I am interested in your civic and political position, and not just me. What is your vision of Armenia within the next 10 or 15 years?

[Vasilyan] My dream is to see my motherland free, independent, and developing day after day.

[Grigoryan] However, this is the most general goal.

[Vasilyan] Yes, this is the goal of any Armenian. Wherever there is a pure and sacred national movement I consider myself a member of this movement.

[Grigoryan] What if we discuss the idea of independence more specifically? Have you calculated how much needs to be invested in terms of resources and funds in order to ensure the security and self-defense of the nation?

[Vasilyan] It is clear that much is needed in terms of resources and funds, and as of now we are not prepared for something of this nature. We will not be able to ensure self-defense with our present forces.

[Grigoryan] There is another position too—freedom at any price...

[Vasilyan] Let us not forget how many of us there are on earth, and what the situation of the republic is: Forty percent of it are destroyed, there are refugees... I believe that those who are demanding independence right now, today, are not right.

We have good relations with virtually all parties existing in the republic at present, that is, including those who strive to secede from the federation, but we do not subscribe to many points in their platforms. I believe that as of now there is not a single party with whose platform we could entirely agree and which reflects fully the needs and hopes of our people.

[Grigoryan] Many people are against violence; specifically, the AOD [Armenian Pannational Movement] has declared that it will not resort to violence under any circumstances...

[Vasilyan] Time will tell.

[Grigoryan] What is your attitude toward this?

[Vasilyan] Our task is to prevent any political party from coming to power in the republic through the use of force—any party, even the one I find most likable, the Dashnaktsutyun (to be sure, I see no genuine representatives of it in the republic). However, the ANA will rebuff it seriously as well if it resorts to force.

[Ter-Gulanyan] Can you try to arrest the growth of violence and crime in the republic?

[Vasilyan] The ANA will become such a force. This is what the latest orders to the army are aimed at... However, I believe that the mafia will not allow the situation to be resolved peaceably. I have already been the target of various provocations because I do not want to succumb, and do not succumb to anybody's influence.

[Grigoryan] Are you sure that your orders will be obeyed?

[Vasilyan] By the ANA—definitely.

[Ter-Gulanyan] What is the story on your arrest? How could it happen that you were taken with your weapon in hand and let go, and on top of that outside our republic, them knowing full-well who you are?

[Vasilyan] When I and two friends left the territory of Armenia by car, we felt that they had put "a tail" on us. At the time, I already understood that I would be arrested. It did not make any difference whether we drive on or return. We were inspected at all roadblocks. They were looking for weapons but could not find them. It was possible that, having failed to find something, they would plant drugs. Being aware of the consequences, I deliberately hid the weapons differently, so that they were able to find them. I told the militiamen that the weapons were mine, and assumed all responsibility...

KGB personnel from Moscow arrived for an investigation. Our discussion was not about the handgun but mainly about the situation in our republic. From their attitude and questions, I understood that they saw me, or attempted to see me, as a representative of the mafia, and wanted to build a case on it similar to the "Uzbek affair."

[Ter-Gulanyan] Had you had to deal with the law-enforcement organs before?

[Vasilyan] No. No prior charges, no court appearances.

[Grigoryan] What education do you have?

[Vasilyan] I have graduated from a trade school. Had I not been detained I would have taken state examinations at the All-Union Finance and Economic Institute in Moscow.

[Ter-Gulanyan] Have you worked?

[Vasilyan] Yes, I have always worked as a construction worker...

So, I did not sign any testimony (as far as the situation and affairs of the republic are concerned). I was surprised by the degree to which they were aware of what is going on in our republic.

Having failed to prove anything, they decided that for now I would be sentenced under Article 218 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code, for now! Parts I and II, transportation and possession of weapons.

The trial was set for 24 April, and on the morning of this day they confined me to the punishment cell. The trial date was postponed on this day. My attorney told me that the judge was a completely independent and principled person, so everything would be fair.

The trial was postponed until 28 April. It lasted four hours. The prosecutor demanded three years of imprisonment.

The court retired to deliberate, and then the judge and the people's assessors came out and announced: a suspended sentence of two years. Even after the sentence was read the guards could not believe it, and did not want to release me.

Attorney Lyudmila Nikolayevna Rogalskaya, to whom I am very grateful, built her arguments on the situation in our republic, in the region where, in essence, a civil war is under way, and on the fact that a bounty has been put on my head in Baku—in a word, the extenuating circumstances which allowed the judge to sentence me as he did. However, I still do not believe that there is justice and that I am free.

[Grigoryan] What stands in the way of the Armenian people at present?

[Vasilyan] First of all, the mafia, local chieftains and moneybags who, taking advantage of the occasion, have created armed gangs and using them for their own pecuniary purposes.

[Ter-Gulanyan] Are these separate groups, or are they connected with each other?

[Vasilyan] As I see it, they are connected. I am afraid that the Artashat affair will be replicated throughout the republic. I am now working on it. We have declared war on such groups. Armed individuals and groups that will not join the ANA voluntarily will be disarmed and duly punished.

[Grigoryan] A lot is done in the name of the ANA that it is not privy to. How is this to be avoided, how is the support of the populace to be finally won, and how are misunderstandings to be avoided?

[Vasilyan] I have always been against rallies and self-promotion. An ANA rally was only held once, on its founding day. I believe that the people will understand who acts for their good and who acts to further his own interests. We have always expelled from the ANA those who came here in order to create an image or advance their career.

[Grigoryan] Still, how is the ANA to be separated from those who commit the acts of lawlessness and aggravate the situation using its name?

[Vasilyan] Perhaps regular meetings are needed. I am prepared to provide explanations and information on all issues in need of an explanation. I am prepared to give you, the press, an opportunity to visit all installations belonging to the ANA, and so on. Write about everything you see with your own eyes, everything that goes on in the ANA, for example, the case of the theft of Moskvich cars from a service garage, three of which we found and returned. We patrol the city day and night in order to prevent possible violations of law. Believe me, ANA leaders sleep one or two hours a day in order to control the situation as completely as possible.

[Grigoryan] However, newspaper photographers were not allowed to work during the action in front of the city committee of the party...

[Vasilyan] Unfortunately, I learned about it after the fact. We had a serious conversation concerning this. I believe that our meeting is the best testimony to this.

This article was already prepared for publication when we learned about the tragic events of 27 May. Naturally, we asked R. Vasilyan one more question: **Has the ANA got anything to do with what has happened?**

[Vasilyan] To my mind, what happened on 27 May could have happened on any other day. The strings of this provocation (and I do not doubt that this was a thoroughly planned provocation) lead to someplace high. **THE ANA HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. WE DID NOT TAKE PART IN THE EXCHANGE OF FIRE,** and we did everything in order to stop senseless bloodshed. A corresponding order was given. There are no casualties among ANA members.

At present, we continue to do everything in our power in order to prevent the possibility of a new provocation. The provocative, I would even say insolent, behavior of the personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops, great numbers of which have arrived in the city, confirms that there are grounds for such apprehensions. On the other hand, random people and criminals masquerading as soldiers of the national self-defense forces have many weapons. For this very reason, all our vehicles are now issued special passes; we have increased the number of duty personnel in the city, and we are cooperating with law enforcement personnel.

The 27 May events, as well as all attempts to destabilize the situation in the republic, play into the hands of the enemies of the Armenian people, and I believe that by now nobody doubts that such enemies exist.

Army Paper Takes Issue With Yelena Bonner

PM2906135390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jun 90 First Edition p 4

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy article: "Armenia: The Political Situation. Just What Kind of Truth Do We Need?"]

[Text] Glass smashed to pieces by bursts of automatic fire. Bullet holes in doors and walls. The usual "autograph" left by extremists at dawn on 20 June, this time on the building housing the Yerevan Garrison leadership. It all happened in a matter of seconds. A motor vehicle stopped briefly, fire crackled from unknown raiders' weapons. Soldiers guarding the building returned fire. Soon afterward they counted their exhausted ammunition—90 spent cartridges. By a stroke of fortune they did not have to count casualties or evacuate wounded under fire. But then, three days earlier a bandit's bullet pierced a sentry's leg during an attack on a post near Kaltakhchi population center.

These and other events are evidence of the fact that lately, alas, service has become no easier for soldiers and officers in Yerevan and other garrisons located in Armenia. No one knows what causes servicemen more pain: Mortal wounds or morale wounds associated with hatred incited at rallies, rumors about the allegedly impending introduction of a curfew, or baiting in the local mass media. These publications, however, are not necessarily couched in blatantly abusive words. It is possible to shroud hatred in a mournful and elevated tone and impart an elegaic subtlety to it. As, for instance, in these lines from an address from Armenia's creative unions to the Russian public: "...To our great regret, at the command of sinister forces, the famous Russian bayonet has been made to spill innocent blood."

Oh, this famous bayonet!

In the days of the earthquake it stood in a pyramid of rifles, while its owner, tearing his nails from his fingers, dug children out from the ruins and in Spitak and Leninakan emptied his kitbag of cans of stew for them, at times not touching food for days, so necessary was it to go and save people.

The Russian bayonet took up position between neighbors at odds in the border areas, reducing the danger of innocent people dying.

Why do I repeat universally known truths? Probably because the owners of the bayonets are hurt more and more in Armenia by devotees of the printed word. If only the local ones had been the sole culprits, but there are also the outsiders, whose popularity is even greater than that of the local venerable journalists. A few days ago, for example, Ye. Bonner, the widow of Academician A.D. Sakharov, rehearsed the role of newspaper prosecutor and, by all accounts, not without success. I admit that it was not without bitterness and bewilderment that I read her article, carried by Yerevan KOMMUNIST 19 June under the sonorous headline "The Truth Is Needed." It really is needed. And primarily to put an end to the opposition between the Army and fedayeen, which is abnormal by all laws of formal logic. Truth does not come in black, white, or shades of gray. There is only one truth, albeit a bitter one. The author has her own truth and probably her own aim. Both unquestionably permeate the article's printed lines, which bluntly compare the events occurring in Armenia with events in Afghanistan. I will permit myself just a few quotes. "Central Television on 30 May showed a reportage about a group of Armenians 'exchanging fire' with Soviet soldiers on the outskirts of Yerevan. Those being shot at lost one person killed, those doing the shooting lost dozens. Strange...." "Armenian guys—'bandits'—do not amuse themselves by shooting at Russian, Moldovan, or Ukrainian guys, but are driven to despair by the lies or silence of all our mass media, and above all by Central Television, by a policy which does not defend the weak, and by those who resolve a wild outburst of violence using the 'brawn not brain' principle. The dead soldiers are not to blame for being brought to this land. But those who sent

them there, are they not treading the same path as the architects of the Afghan escapade? They should have pondered how to end the Army's tense stay of many months in a city which had not seen national conflicts in all its lifetime." "Why do soldiers deporting Armenians from Karabakh say it is necessary because the Army cannot guarantee safety? Why does the virtual blockade of Armenia, and especially of Karabakh, continue despite the Armenian Supreme Soviet decisions? In truth, I personally know the answer to the last two questions: Because the Army is stuck in Yerevan, where its presence is objectively provocative, instead of guarding the roads."

I think that is enough. I shall not comment in detail. The reader, who is quite well informed today, will do this himself. I will permit myself just a few clarifications.

A corpse feels no pain. But, forgive me for the harsh words, our wounded guys, including Lieutenant Petr Tereshchenko who has a guerilla's bullet lodged in his spine, are not at all interested in the emotions or political goals by which the extremists are guided when they open fire on servicemen. The law interprets these facts unequivocally as a crime. This is an elementary truth for any upholder of the law. Here the cart should not be put before the horse: It was not the Army that brought interethnic dissension to the Transcaucasus, it was drawn into a process which is shameful for civilized society with only one aim: To prevent bloodshed.

And at this point I want to make an important emphasis: The Army, using the author's terminology, "is stuck in Yerevan" for the very same reasons (and for no more "provocative" reasons) that it is in Kushka, in Leningrad and Khabarovsk, in Chernobyl and the Kuril Islands—it is defending the fatherland within its own borders, as do all other armies in the world. In recent years the Yerevan Garrison numbers have not increased by a single man. It is not the fault but, possibly, the misfortune of our sons who end up serving in the Transcaucasus Military District that instead of hospitality, cordiality, and brotherhood, as it has been for all these years on Armenian soil, lead and stones at times await them.

Where does this lead? Yelena Georgiyevna, I would very much like to show you a video tape made by MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] staffers at the site of the Azeri village of Baganis Ayrum, which was burned to the ground by guerillas. Complete with the corpses of adults and children and walls blackened by the flames. It is a strange sight, as were the pictures of the Armenian pogroms committed in January in Baku. I do not wish to descend to preaching, but it is more logical to manifest peacemaking not by unthinkingly humiliating the Army, which has no ax to grind in the Transcaucasus, but by promoting reconciliation and dialogue, charity, virtue, and humanity.

But for now, instead of conjecture, I can only quote perfectly true figures which were already published by our newspaper recently. However, taking into account that the author of the KOMMUNIST article is unlikely to be a regular reader of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, let alone a permanent subscriber to it, I repeat: As a result of the interethnic conflict in the Transcaucasus, 37 Soviet Army and Navy servicemen of various nationalities have died between 19 January and 18 June this year, 26 persons have died at the hands of extremists, and 11 persons have died as a result of accidents, some involving a breach of security measures. In addition, 153 Army and Navy servicemen were wounded or injured. Ten died from their wounds.

A sad tally. And the bitter truth. Who will pay or weep for it, except the mothers? Who will learn lessons from it, except politicians and each one of us, united by the human concept of being compatriots? So is it worth further fuelling the eternal fire of national internecine strife and anti-Army orgies in the Transcaucasus?

Unauthorized Helicopter Flights to Chaykend Viewed

NC2906123990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 27 Jun 90

[Text] AZERINFORM has reported on the helicopter flights to Chaykend. Uncontrolled helicopter flights from Armenia to Chaykend, which is located in the mountains in Khanlarskiy Rayon, are continuing. Usually, a number of helicopters arrive in Chaykend every day. While passing over the residential areas, the helicopters cause fear among residents of Azerbaijani towns and disturb the peaceful life of those who live in [words indistinct]. Because they feel uneasiness about their children's safety, many families have refrained from sending them to the (?vacation) camps, and thus a number of the camps are empty. However, the main problem is that the local law enforcement, party, and soviet organs have no information on what is being transferred by helicopter to a few hundred Armenians in Chaykend. This state of affairs makes them very uneasy. The complaints made by the rayon's leaders are not unfounded. Until recently, the helicopter flights were being used for transferring arms, combat equipment, explosives, and armed individuals from the infamous Armenian national army to Chaykend and the neighboring Shaumyanovskiy Rayon.

The armed individuals are behaving in an uncontrolled manner on the roads. They are carrying out acts of terrorism against the local Azerbaijani people. Tovfik Kyazimov, first secretary of the Khanlarskiy Rayon, told an AZERINFORM correspondent: We demand that all the helicopter flights from Armenia to Chaykend be stopped. We are well aware of the results of these flights. [words indistinct], which always keeps the local people in a tense state. This state of affairs can create (?undesirable) results. The residents of the rayon expect more resolute measures from those who are authorized to halt the insidious flights.

Central Asia

Continued 'Tension' Reported in Osh Oblast

LD0607103590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0900 GMT 6 Jul 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Frunze, 6 Jul (TASS)—Tension remains in only one rayon—the Uzgenskiy rayon—of the Osh oblast in Kirghizia (in the southern part of Soviet Central Asia). Clashes involving bloodshed took place here between Uzbeks and Kirghiz between 4 and 13 June. Since then, relations between the Kirghiz and Uzbek communities has not improved. Passenger traffic along the roads is carried out in convoys guarded by soldiers. There is no open struggle taking place, but the general situation is akin to life on a powder keg.

Peaceful coexistence is being maintained in other rayons of the Osh Oblast of Kirghizia which borders upon Uzbekistan. Conflict between groups of young people from the two nationalities over housing plots served as grounds for the June disturbances. Most enterprises and transport are working in the oblast's center and in the major population centers with the exception of Uzgen, and field work has started. The Muslim religious festival of Id al-Adha passed off peacefully.

The number of people who died during the mass disturbances has reached 197. Most of the 1,065 injured who were hospitalized have already returned home. Searches continue for 400 people who are missing. The whereabouts of 387 people who were also reported missing to the internal affairs bodies have been established—they are all alive and well. Work continues in the oblast to confiscate weapons and bottles containing incendiary mixtures.

All is calm in the capital and in the other regions of Kirghizia.

Dushanbe Court Sentences Tajik Students

LD0507151690 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0005 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] In the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Committee for State Security in the course of investigation has established the participation of Kamal Sadreddinovich Khalov and Babamured Saidovich Navrusov, students from the Dushanbe Teachers Training State College, in the public disorders which took place in Dushanbe city in February.

Investigators from the procurator's office fully proved their illegal actions, and the Dushanbe city court sentenced them to four years deprivation of liberty in accordance with Articles 77 and 203 of the Tajik SSR Criminal Code.

Criminal investigations are continuing concerning a number of other participants of disorders.

Tajik Central Committee Plenum Reported

PM0307093190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent L. Makhkamov under general heading: "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 28 Jun—A Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held here today. It discussed questions connected with the participation of delegates from the republican party organization in the work of the 28th CPSU Congress.

The plenum gave the delegates instructions to strictly follow the Tajikistan Communist Party platform "for democracy and the humanization of society" and to resolutely come out at the congress for the consolidation of the CPSU's ideological, political, and organizational unity.